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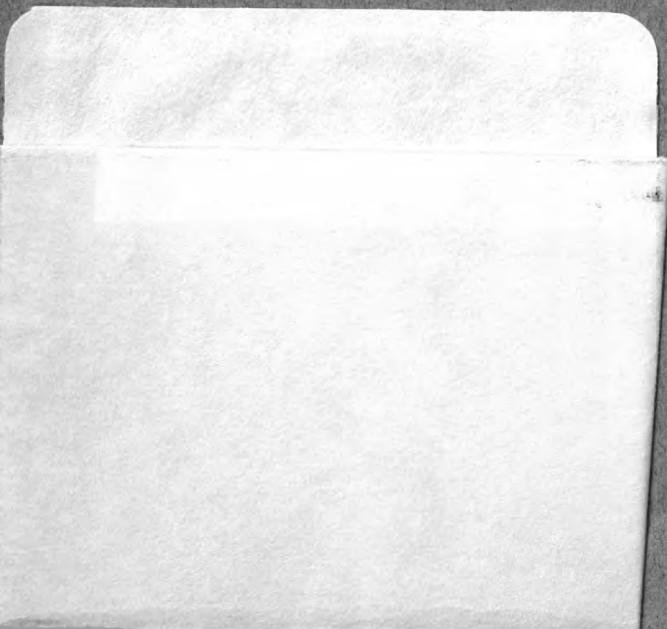
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**THE DRAMATIC ASSOCIATIONS OF
THE EASTER SEPULCHRE**

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THE DRAMATIC ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EASTER SEPULCHRE

To the student of the drama of the mediaeval church nothing is more familiar than the fact that the liturgical structure, or *locus*, known as the Easter *sepulchrum* was the center of three separate dramatic observances: the *Depositio*, the *Elevatio*, and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.¹ The *Depositio* took place on Good Friday, at some point in the liturgy after the Adoration of the Cross; the *Elevatio* occurred on Easter morning, usually before Matins; and the normal position of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was at the end of Easter Matins, immediately before the *Te Deum*. The nature of these dramatic offices may be conveniently shown in the following versions of the fourteenth century from the monastery of St. Blaise, in the Black Forest:²

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>³

COMMUNICATIS⁴ OMNIBUS SONENTUR TABULÆ OMNES. POST HÆC FIET ORATIO ANTE VESPERAM. INTERIM SACERDOS SUMAT VIATICUM, EATQUE AD SEPULCHRUM CUM INCENSO & CANDELIS CANTANDO *responsorium*:

Agnus Dei Christus <immolatus est pro salute mundi. Nam de parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens, quando pomi noxialis morte morsu corruit; ipse lignum tunc notavit, damna ligni est solveret. VERSUS: Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Ipse lignum.⁵

¹ For a survey of these observances see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 11-36.

² M. Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, St. Blasien, 1777-1779, Part II, pp. 234-235, 236. The *Depositio* is incompletely reprinted in *Decreta Authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. IV, Rome, 1900, 432. The *Visitatio* is reprinted from Gerbert by C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887, pp. 30-31. For a bibliography of other reprints of this version of the *Visitatio* see Lange, p. 6.

³ Gerbert, *Monumenta*, Part II, p. 234.

⁴ Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* of Good Friday. See below, pp. 19-20.

⁵ Responsory from Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. LXXVIII, col. 768.

<RESPONSORIUM:>

Ecce quomodo moritur<justus, et nemo percipit corde; et viri justī tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est justus, et erit in pace memoria ejus. VERSUS: In pace factus est locus ejus, et in Sion habitatio ejus. Et erit.>,⁶

CUM VERSIBUS & REPETITIONIBUS; PONENSQUE ILLUD IN SEPULCHRUM INCENSET, & CLAUDENS ILLUS CANTET *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,<signatum est monumentum; volventes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. VERSUS: Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.>,⁷

CUM VERSU & REPETITIONE; PONATURQUE CEREUS ARDENS ANTE SEPULCHRUM. DEINDE LEGATUR VESPERA.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁸

NOCTE SACRATISSIMA RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI CUM TEMPUS FUERIT PULSANDI MATUTINUM, SECRETARIUS SURGAT, SUMENS LATERNAM CUM LUMINE DOMNUM ABBATEM EXCITABIT, ATQUE PRIOREM, DEINDE ALIOS DE FRATRIBUS AD COM-PULSANDAS CAMPANAS, QUI SIBI PLACUERINT. SURGENS AUTEM DOMNUS ABBAS AD ECCLESIAM EAT, & INDUIT SE ALBA, STOLA, ET CAPPA, PRIOR AUTEM ALBA ET CAETERI FRATRES. SUMENTESQUE DUO THURIBULA CUM INCENSO, PRAECE-DENTIBUS CANDELABRIS, EANT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM *responsorio*:

Maria Magdalena<et altera Maria ibant diluculo ad monumentum.

Jesum quem quæritis non est hic; surrexit sicut locutus est, præcedet vos in Galilæam, ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia. VERSUS: Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Dominus. Præcedet.>,⁹

CUM VERSU. & EANT AD SEPULCHRUM, AC ILLUD INCENSENT EXTERIUS; DEINDE LEVATO TEGIMENTO ITERUM INCENSENT INTERIUS. POSTEA SUMENS CORPUS DOMINI SUPER ALTARE PONIT CANTANS *responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus<qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. VERSUS: Surrexit

Dominus de sepulcro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Et pro suo.>,¹⁰

CUM VERSU. INTERIM LEVET CORPUS DOMINICUM, INCENSISQUE CANDELIS SONETUR CLASSIS. POST TERNAS ORATIONES INCIPIAT DOMNUS ABBAS XV GRADUS. OMNES QUI IN HAC NOCTE ALIQUID CANTARE VEL LEGERE VOLUNT, DEBENT ESSE REVESTITI ALBIS PRAETER PUERUM QUI DICIT VERSUM. INFRA XV GRADUS SONENTUR DUO MAXIMA SIGNA IN ANGULARI; DEINDE DUO MAIORA SIGNA IN CHORO. POSTEA FIAT COMPULSATIO AB OMNIBUS CAMPANIS. TUNC

⁶ Responsory from Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

⁷ See *ibid.*

⁸ Gerbert, *Monumenta*, Part II, p. 236.

⁹ First responsory of Matins of Easter Monday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 771.

¹⁰ The third responsory of Matins of Thursday after Easter. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.

VENIENS DOMNUS ABBAS ANTE ALTARE INDUTUS CAPPÀ INCIPIAT: Domine, labia mea aperies.¹¹

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>¹²

TERTIUM VERO RESPONSORIUM CANTENT TRES CANTORES IN CAPPIS, QUORUM DUO INCENSENT ALTARE, UT SUPRA SCRIPTUM EST. *Responsorium*: Dum transissent, QUOD POST Gloria patri REINCIPIENDUM EST.

INTERIM DUO SACERDOTES SE CAPPIS INDUUNT SUMMENTES DUO THURIBULA, & HUMERARIA IN CAPITA PONENT, INTRANTES CHORUM, PAULATIM EUNTES VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, VOCE MEDIOCRI CANTANTES:

Quis revolvat nobis lapidem?

QUOS DIACONUS QUI DEBET ESSE RETRO SEPULCHRUM INTERROGET PSALLENDO:

Quem quaeritis?

DEINDE ILLI:

Iesum nazarenum.

QUIBUS DIACONUS RESPONDET:

Non est hic.

MOX INCENSENT SEPULCHRUM, & DICENTE DIACONO: Ite, nuntiate, VERTENT SE AD CHORUM REMANENTES SUPER GRADUM, & CANTENT:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,

USQUE IN FINEM. FINITA ANTIPHONA, DOMNUS ABBAS INCIPIAT:

Te Deum laudamus,

IN MEDIO ANTE ALTARE, MOXQUE CAMPANAE SONENTUR IN ANGULARIBUS. CUM CANTATUR: Per singulos dies, SONENTUR OMNIA SIGNA IN CHORO.

It will be observed that the *mise en scène* for all three of these dramatic offices is some kind of *sepulchrum*. This particular version of the *Depositio* occurs between Mass and Vespers on Good Friday, and consists essentially in the burial in the *sepulchrum* of the Host (*Viaticum*, *Corpus Domini*), in commemoration of the burial of Christ. The essence of the *Elevatio* is the raising of the Host from the *sepulchrum*, before Matins on Easter morning, in commemoration of the Resurrection. The *Visitatio Sepulchri*, at the end of Easter Matins, has as its central representation the visit of two Maries¹³ to the empty *sepulchrum*. A notable fact concerning all three observances is that they are extra-liturgical: that is to say, they are not

¹¹ This versicle opens Matins.

¹² Gerbert, *Monumenta*, Part II, p. 236.

¹³ It will be noted that, whereas impersonation is entirely absent from the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* before us, the *Visitatio* contains at least hints of *mimesis* in the rubric *duo Sacerdotes . . . summentes duo thuribula & humeraria in in capita ponent*. See below, pp. 128-129.

authorized and essential parts of the traditional liturgy of the Roman church, but pious *additions*.

The third of these dramatic offices, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, has been assiduously studied in isolation, and a large number of versions have been published.¹⁴ It has been discerned, indeed, that the *Visitatio* had a double development within the liturgy of Easter,—at the Introit of Mass and at the end of Matins,—and this phenomenon has been sufficiently expounded.¹⁵ Of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, however, no thorough study has ever been made. Only a relatively small number of texts of these ceremonials are available in print, and such versions as are already published have never been brought together for critical examination.¹⁶ In view of the obvious interrelations of the three ceremonials, this neglect is unfortunate; for it is clear that no consideration of the *Visitatio* can

¹⁴ For bibliography see *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIX (1914), p. 3.

¹⁵ See *id.*, pp. 1-49.

¹⁶ For actual texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* previously published see especially E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Lyons, 1706, pp. 367, 477-479, 503-505; K. Young, *The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 897-934. Isolated printed texts are referred to below, *passim*. In regard to the bearing of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* upon modern liturgical usage the most important study is found in *Decreta Authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. IV, Rome, 1900, pp. 419-441 (referred to below as *Decreta Authentica*). As a treatise upon *mediaeval* observances this study is far from complete. For discussions of some aspects of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see A. Heales, in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII (1869), pp. 264-277; H. P. Feasey, in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. XXXII (1905), pp. 491-499 *pass.*; H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, London, 1897, pp. 132-137, 169-177; J. B. Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du S. Sacrement de l'Autel*, Vol. II, Avignon, 1777, pp. 193-202; C. Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, New Haven, 1892, pp. 16-20; [A. De Santi], in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 709-711; A. De Santi, *Il Mattino di Pasqua nella Storia Liturgica*, Rome, 1917, pp. 6-20; H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 299-468; Chambers, II, 16-26; V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, Vol. I, Freiburg, 1912, pp. 636-637; *De Processionibus Ecclesiasticis Liber*, Paris, 1641, pp. 171-197; H. Alt, *Theater und Kirche*, Berlin, 1846, pp. 348-349; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (*Alcuin Club Collections*, No. XIII), London, 1909, pp. 296-300; J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London, 1877, Appendix, pp. xxvi-xl.

be definitive without reference to the content and associations of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. I therefore venture to undertake a special study of these two offices.¹⁷ For my texts I draw chiefly upon unpublished manuscripts and incunabula; but I have been glad to avail myself also of such versions as are found in modern print.¹⁸

I

Since the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are extra-liturgical developments within the authorized liturgy of Holy Week and Easter morning, we may appropriately examine their liturgical associations for suggestions concerning their origins.¹

¹⁷ It should be remembered that in the present study I do not undertake an orderly and detailed consideration of the *sepulchrum* itself. I concern myself, not with this material structure, but with the dramatic ceremonials surrounding it. My observations concerning the *sepulchrum* itself are merely incidental. Bibliography upon this special subject is given by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, pp. 895–896, and by J. K. Bonnell, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXI (1916), pp. 664–712.

¹⁸ It is inevitable that some published versions escape me; and I do not, of course, pretend to have exhausted the possibilities of the thousands of liturgical manuscripts in European libraries. I have not been able to include the versions published by F. Arens, *Der Liber Ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Paderborn, 1908, as reported by A. De Santi in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 709–711. Unpublished examples of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in manuscripts are referred to by N. C. Brooks in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VIII (1909), 469, 481, and in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LV (1914), pp. 55, 56, 58. I take this occasion for acknowledging the invaluable assistance given me by my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight.

¹ In my discussion of origins I venture to ignore certain vague or obviously inadequate suggestions made by other writers. In speaking of the “sepulchre rite” as a whole, H. J. Feasey (*Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 129) speaks of “some [persons] inclining to the suggestion that its source lay in the old Mystery Plays which were of old performed in the churches.” Cf. H. P. Feasey, in *Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXII, 337. We are, of course, seeking the source behind “the old Mystery Plays.” Feasey, again, speaks (*Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 130) of others who “think the ceremony arose as occasion or devotion required, as did the Christmas Crib and other like devotions.” This view simply evades the investigation of what “occasion or devotion required.” The rise of the “devotions” surrounding the Christmas Crib is

Such suggestions appear, for example, in connection with the reservation of a Host from the Mass of Holy Thursday for the mass of the Presanctified (*Missa Præsanctificatorum*) on Good Friday.² This reservation was necessary through the fact that from about the fifth century to the present time the Roman rite has not permitted the consecration of the sacred elements on Good Friday itself.³ The result of this prohibition is the supplying of the mass of Good Friday with a Host consecrated upon the previous day,—a *presanctified* Host. Hence the term *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. The absence of the consecration of the Host from the mass of Friday automatically eliminates a large part of the usual *Ordo Missæ*, including such central elements as the consecratory prayer of the Canon and the words of the Institution. This reduced form of Mass is, in fact, primarily a mere communion service, for which the Host is reserved from the day before.⁴

Our immediate interest in the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*, however, lies not so much in the liturgical content itself as in the implications of the reserving of the Host from Thursday to Friday. The laying away of the *Corpus Domini* from one day to another naturally surrounded itself with a special ceremonial and was inevitably interpreted by a special symbolism.

investigated by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII, Part I (1912), pp. 299–395. Feasey makes also the following suggestion (*Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXII, 337–338): “Others again with much more show of reason think the necessity of providing a suitable place and receptacle for the Sacred Host, which the rubric directed to be reserved from Maunday Thursday till Holy Saturday [sic], gave rise to the ceremony.” I infer that the “rubric” referred to is that (see below, pp. 40, 45, 114) requiring the consecration on Holy Thursday of a *third* Host to be deposited in the *sepulchrum* on *Friday* and to be left until *Sunday* morning. But the question before us is, What is the origin of this practice of reserving a third Host and of laying it in a *sepulchrum* from Good Friday until Easter?

² This reservation is considered at length by Raible, *Ueber Ursprung, Alter und Entwicklung der Missa Præsanctificatorum*, in *Der Katholik* (Mainz), Dritte Folge, XXIII (1901), pp. 143–156, 250–266, 363–374.

³ See Raible, pp. 152, 250, 261, 266. The reasons for this prohibition do not concern us here. See Raible, p. 144; Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Vol. II, Paris, 1724, pp. lxxv–lxxvi; Beletius, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, cap. xcvi, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCII, 99–100.

⁴ The liturgical content of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* is more definitely outlined below, pp. 19–20.

For an understanding of this ceremonial we can scarcely do better than to examine the prescriptions of the *Ordines Romani*. Thus *Ordo I*, in passages that probably represent the traditions of the sixth century,⁵ speaks of the Thursday reservation in the laconic words *et servat de sancta usque in crastinum*,⁶ and of the bringing forth of the presanctified Host during the Mass of Friday, as follows:⁷

Presbyteri vero duo priores . . . intrant secretarium, vel ubi positum fuerat Corpus Domini quod pridie remansit, ponentes eum in patena; & subdiaconus teneat ante ipsos calicem cum vino non consecrato, & alter subdiaconus patenam cum Corpore Domini; quibus tenentibus accipit unus presbyter patenam et alter calicem, & deferunt super altare nudatum.

However uncommunicative these rubrics may seem,⁸ they establish the fact that the reserved Host was not left upon the altar upon which it was consecrated on Thursday,⁹ but was kept over night in a special place,—for example, a *secretarium*. Had we no other information we should safely infer that the surroundings of the Host in this special *locus* must have been reverential, and that the carrying of the *Corpus Christi* to and from this place must have assumed a processional character. As a matter of fact, however, information of this sort is at hand. In the tenth Roman *Ordo*, for example, the ceremonial of the reservation in connection with the papal mass at the Church of St. John Lateran is described as follows:¹⁰

Postquam autem communicavit,¹¹ ponit calicem super altare, & patenam juxta eum cum Corpore Domini reservato, quia sexta feria de ipso sacrificio resumit; & cooperitur utrumque sindone munda. . . . Reserventur tamen oblatae integræ de Corpore Domini in die Parasceve; sanguis vero Domini penitus assumatur. . . . Sed antequam Pontifex revertatur ad altare ad

⁵ See Raible, pp. 253–259; Thalhofer, I, 78.

⁶ Mabillon, II, 21.

⁷ Mabillon, II, 23.

⁸ Similar brief rubrics from the *ordines* of St. Amand and Einsiedeln may be seen in L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, London, 1904, pp. 467, 482, 483.

⁹ Such a removal was necessitated by the washing of the altar on Thursday evening. See J. Corblet, *Histoire dogmatique, liturgique et archéologique du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, Vol. I, Paris, 1886, p. 538.

¹⁰ Mabillon, II, 100–101. The date of the formulation of *Ordo Romanus X* is uncertain. The ceremonials that it presents probably date back at least to the eleventh or twelfth century. See Thalhofer, I, 80.

¹¹ This refers to the Communion of the Mass of Holy Thursday.

complendam Missam, junior presbyterorum cardinalium portet Corpus Domini positum in pyxide ad locum præparatum, præcedentibus cum cruce & luminaribus, & papillione desuper.

This rubric provides for the processional transfer of the Host to a special place of reservation, the procession being provided with a cross, lights, and a canopy.

The recovery of the reserved Host for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* on Good Friday is provided for in the same *ordo* as follows:¹²

Tunc junior presbyterorum cardinalium ferat adornatum capsidem cum Dominico Corpore hesternæ die reservato; & sic subdiaconus cum papali cruce processionem præcedente, omnes discalceati sine cantu psallendo ad ecclesiam Sanctæ Crucis, quæ est Jerusalem, ubi statio fieri debet, ordinate tamen, procedant, quando dominus Papa est Laterani. Cum autem illuc pervenerint, ingrediuntur ecclesiam sine cantu, & prostrati in medio ecclesiæ diutius orent. Presbyter, qui portat Corpus Christi, in secretario ponat illud, dum dominus Papa præparat se.

This passage describes the papal procession conducting the reserved Host from St. John Lateran to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the papal station for the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. The clergy are bare-footed, they proceed without chant, and at their destination prostrate themselves in prayer.

With the ceremonial of papal Rome we may profitably compare the use of France as prescribed in the eleventh century for Rouen by the archbishop, Jean d'Avranches. The reservation on Holy Thursday is arranged as follows:¹³

Ipsa die plures hostiæ consecrantur, quibus clerus et populus communicetur; et medietas hostiarum absque vino in crastino reservetur, unde iterum communicentur. Ipsæ vero hostiæ a sacerdote et ministris altaris indutis, cum processione, scilicet cum cereis et incenso, super quoddam altare honorifice deportentur, ubi cum nitidissimis linteaminibus optime recondantur. Ibi semper lumen usque ad ultimæ candelæ extinctionem in Matutinis ardeat.

It will be observed that in this case the procession sequesters the reserved Host upon a special altar, and that a light is kept burning before it until the next morning.

¹² Mabillon, II, 102.

¹³ Jean d'Avranches, *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 50.

The bringing forth of the reserved Host for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* is briefly ordered by Jean d'Avranches as follows:¹⁴

Post ministri crucis casulis induti afferant ad altare, cum vino non consecrato, reservatum Corpus Domini, ubi a sacerdote incensetur.

Only one other liturgical rubric need be cited here: for the papal reservation of Holy Thursday as ordered in the fifteenth Roman *Ordo*, of the fourteenth century:¹⁵

Postquam dominus Papa intrat ad sacrificandum, conficit duas hostias, unam pro se, & aliam pro die Veneris. . . . Percepto corpore & sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum calice & sine calamo, antequam abluat manus, ipsum calicem cum Corpore Domini nostri reservato, non illum calicem in quo celebravit, sed solum magnum de auro, sibi præsentet coopertum cum magna reverentia sacrista papalis cum sindone, cum lustris aureis. E sinistro brachio pendet unum caput, & in dextra manu portat calicem coopertum alio capite, & reverenter ponit prædictum calicem prope Papam circa medium altaris cum alia tobalea de sirico, cum qua cooperitur calix, in quo est Corpus Christi. Et nota, quod antequam abluat digitos dominus Papa, Corpus Christi cum reverentia magna infra prædictum calicem ponit, & super calicem corporalia illa; pars minor corporalium, & super corporale patenam, & super patenam caput illius tobaleæ de sindone. Statim quo facto, abluit digitos infra calicem cum quo celebravit, & bibit illud; & antequam abluat manus in magnis bacilibus Papæ, ipse Papa vel episcopus cardinalis qui servit sibi in Missa, prædictum calicem cum Corpore Christi sic coopertum, & super humerum sinistrum pendet aliud caput illius tobaleæ, & tenens cum ambabus manibus calicem per medium portat ad armariolum, in quo conservatur usque in crastinum, antecedentibus luminaribus, cruce, & incenso processionaliter cum devotione. Quo reposito, genuflexus thurificat Corpus Christi; quo facto, revertitur ad altare; & sic lavat manus ut moris est.

For our present purpose the significance of this ceremonial lies not in the details of the procession but in the fact that the reserved Host is carried and kept in a chalice,¹⁶ and that the chalice containing the Host is deposited in some sort of chest or tabernacle.

With these several examples of the authorized ceremonial before us, we may briefly observe several resemblances between the liturgical reservation from Holy Thursday to Good Friday

¹⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 52.

¹⁵ Mabillon, II, 482-483.

¹⁶ Compare the modern practice, expounded in *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 420-421.

and the extra-liturgical "burial,"—*Depositio—Elevatio*,—from Good Friday until Easter:

1) The chest, or tabernacle, in which the reserved Host is placed¹⁷ has an exact parallel in the *sepulchrum* of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

2) The placing of the reserved Host upon a special altar¹⁸ has a parallel in several versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the *sepulchrum* is the altar itself,¹⁹ or is closely attached to an altar.²⁰

3) The light kept burning before the altar of the reservation²¹ calls to mind the lights furnished for the *sepulchrum*.²²

4) The depositing of the reserved Host in a chalice²³ is clearly a possible antecedent for the use of the chalice in numerous versions of the dramatic observances.²⁴

Although the extant documents do not allow us to demonstrate that each of these uses connected with the reservation of Holy Thursday was established before the date of the earliest versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, in the tenth century,²⁵ the probability is that in these matters the extra-liturgical observances are antedated by the authorized ceremonial. In any case, this fundamental observation is sound: Whatever the ceremonial details of the reservation may have been in any particular locality or at any particular time, the traditional depositing of the reserved Host in a place of repose furnishes an ancient and conspicuous model for the invention of a *Depositio* and an *Elevatio*; and the special ceremonials of the reservation at subsequent periods may well have influenced the variety to be observed in the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* during the course of their long development.²⁶

¹⁷ See *Ordo Romanus XV*, cited above, p. 13.

¹⁸ See passage from Jean d'Avranches, cited above, p. 12.

¹⁹ See below, p. 74.

²⁰ See below, pp. 34, 35, 44, 55.

²¹ See citation from Jean d'Avranches, above, p. 12.

²² For example, see below, pp. 102, 119.

²³ See the citation from *Ordo Romanus XV*, above, p. 13.

²⁴ See below, pp. 97, 102, 104, 106.

²⁵ The evidence for this date is cited below, p. 73.

²⁶ Concerning the date of the more elaborate ceremonials of the Thursday reservation Father Herbert Thurston speaks as follows (*Lent and Holy Week*, p. 296): "The practice of bringing the second Host in state to the place prepared

But the aptness of the model can be still more soundly established through an appeal to another body of evidence: the traditional symbolism surrounding the reservation of the Host. It will be observed that none of the *ordines* cited above specifically suggests that the place in which the reserved Host is deposited is a *sepulchrum*, or that the act of reservation is a "burial." In view of the meaning of the day, this silence is to be expected, for obviously the idea of Christ's burial and the name *sepulchrum* are inappropriate to Holy Thursday, since this day commemorates not the death or burial of Christ, but rather the Last Supper and the Institution of the Eucharist. There are, however, ample evidences that the place of the Thursday reservation did come to be regarded as a *sepulchrum*, and the sources of this conception are not far to seek.

It appears that at all periods of liturgical history the receptacle for reserving the Eucharist,—whether for the sick or for other purposes,—was symbolized as a tomb. That is to say, the vessel or tabernacle enclosing the *Corpus Domini* was, not unnaturally, regarded as a *sepulchrum*. Thus in early times the *capsa* for containing the Host was often designed in the form of a "tower," the actual tomb of Christ in Jerusalem being conceived in this form. Hence in early Christian art the tabernacle took the name *turris*.²⁷ In a commentary upon the Gallican Mass, assigned to the sixth century, we read as follows:

Corpus vero Domini ideo defertur in turribus, quia monumentum Domini in similitudinem turris fuit scissum in petra, et intus lectum ubi pausavit Corpus Dominicum, unde surrexit Rex gloriae in triumphum.²⁸

If, then, the receptacle for the reserved *Corpus Domini* (*Sacramentum consecratum*) was, in its general use, interpreted as *sepulchrum*, there is abundant justification for the presence

for it, although alluded to as early as the time of Lanfranc, seems only to have become generally established towards the end of the fifteenth century." After the latter part of the thirteenth century the ceremonial both of the Thursday reservation and of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* were probably influenced by the procession of Corpus Christi day. Upon this point see Thurston, p. 296-297.

²⁷ See Raible, p. 262; *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419; Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, London, 1912, pp. 159-161. In regard to tabernacles in general, see Corblet, I, 550-563.

²⁸ Quoted in *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419, from Martène, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Vol. V, col. 94. Cf. Raible, p. 262.

of this conception in connection with the reservation of Holy Thursday.

But a further basis for this symbolizing is found in certain specific details in the ceremonial of Holy Thursday. We have already noticed that the reserved Host was sometimes placed in a closed chalice,²⁹ and also that it was sometimes deposited at a special altar.³⁰ Once more, then, we encounter the idea of *sepulchrum*, for both the chalice³¹ and the altar³² are abundantly symbolized as receptacles for burial.³³

There is, then, ample reason for citing the reservation of the Host for the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* as being among the formative antecedents of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*; and in our

²⁹ See *Ordo Romanus XV*, cited above, p. 13.

³⁰ See Jean d'Avranches, cited above, p. 12.

³¹ See Corblet, II, 241, 295; *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419-420. The symbolizing of the chalice as *sepulchrum* can be found as early as the ninth century (see *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 420); but how early the chalice was used for containing the Host reserved on Holy Thursday, the liturgiologist of the *Decreta* does not say. On the general subject see also Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Vol. LXIV, p. 87.

³² See Hirn, pp. 16-27; J. K. Bonnell, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXI, pp. 664-712; K. Young, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, pp. 42-46. Hirn makes clear that this symbolizing of the altar as *sepulchrum* dates from the earliest Christian centuries. See also *De Processionibus Ecclesiasticis Liber*, Paris, 1641, pp. 181-191.

³³ I wish to keep from the center of our present discussion the obscurities that often arise in connection with the modern practice of revering the place of the Thursday reservation as a "sepulchrum." This practice may have arisen in either of two ways: (1) through the persistent mediaeval symbolizing of the place of repose as a sepulchre; or (2) through later confusion with the burial of the Host in the *Depositio* of Good Friday. Probably both influences are present in the modern practice. In any case the modern veneration of the "sepulchre" on Holy Thursday should be sharply distinguished from the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of our present study. Although this distinction is adequately maintained by excellent authorities (*Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419-421; Thurston, pp. 299-300; J. T. Micklethwaite, *The Ornaments of the Rubric* [Alcuin Club Tracts, No. I], London, 1897, pp. 52-53; A. W. Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, London, 1868, pp. 206-208), it is unknown to some who have discussed the church drama (See Heales, in *Archæologia*, XLII, 265-266, 268-269; Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, LXIV, 87-89; F. G. Lee, *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, London, 1877, p. 118; J. C. Cox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture*, London, 1907, p. 74).

examination of the various versions of these offices we shall encounter continued reminders of this influence.³⁴

This is, perhaps, an appropriate point at which to introduce a bit of external evidence showing that the Host was actually employed for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* as early as the tenth century. In a life of St. Udalricus, bishop of Augsburg (†973), which appears to have been written within some twenty years from the date of his death, we read the following concerning the liturgical observances of this ecclesiastic on Good Friday and Easter:³⁵

Die autem Parasceve . . . mane diluculo psalterium explere festinavit, et sacro Dei mysterio perpetrato, *populoque sacro Christi corpore saginato, et consuetudinario more, quod remanserat, sepulto*, interum inter ecclesias ambulando, psalterium explevit decantando. . . . Desideratissimo atque sanctissimo Paschali die adveniente, *post primam intravit ecclesiam Sancti Ambrosii, ubi die Parasceve Corpus Christi superposito lapide collocavit*, ibique cum paucis clericis Missam de sancta Trinitate explevit. Expleta autem Missa . . . *secum portato Christi Corpore et Evangelio et cereis et incenso et cum congrua salutatione versuum a pueris decantata* . . . perrexit ad ecclesiam sancti Ioannis Baptistae.

From this passage we learn that, according to a custom established at Augsburg before the year 973, after Communion at the close of the *Missa Præsanctificationum* in the cathedral on Good Friday, the remains of the Sacrament were deposited in the church of St. Ambrosius in some sort of *sepulchrum* closed by a stone (*lapis*).³⁶ Apparently the *Corpus Domini* thus buried remained in the *sepulchrum* until Easter morning, and it is reasonable to infer that at that time occurred some sort of

³⁴ I may anticipate one such reminder. The *ordinaria* of several churches (see below, for example, pp. 40, 45, 114) explicitly provide that in the Mass of Holy Thursday *three* Hosts shall be consecrated: one for the Mass of the day, one for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* of Good Friday, and one for "burial" in the *sepulchrum* of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Nothing could more emphatically suggest the bond between the reservation of Thursday and the *Depositio* than the fact that the objects to be venerated in the two ceremonials are consecrated, side by side, in a single ritual.

³⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. II, Paris and Rome, 1867, p. 103. Concerning matters of authorship and date see *id.*, p. 95. See also Martène, p. 367; *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 430.

³⁶ For the use of the *lapis* in the extant versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see, for example, below, pp. 93, 94.

Elevatio.³⁷ Concerning the church of Ambrosius we have no information, but we may assume that it was near the Cathedral, and that for the *Depositio* of Good Friday the *Corpus Domini* was carried thither in procession.³⁸

If we are correct in our inference that the reservation of Holy Thursday influenced the formation and development of such a *Depositio* and *Elevatio* as are referred to by Udalricus, we may summarize this phenomenon briefly as follows. The laying away of a Host in a *sepulchrum* from Good Friday until Easter was in some sort an extra-liturgical imitation, or reduplication, of the liturgical reservation of the Host from Holy Thursday to Good Friday. Whereas the idea of *sepulchrum* and "burial," though inherent in the instruments used in the reservation of Holy Thursday, was essentially inappropriate to that day, this idea finds complete appropriateness and realization in the laying down and raising of the Host in the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of Good Friday and Easter.

II

For the sake of lucidity, I have hitherto ignored the circumstance that the Host was not the only object deposited in the extra-liturgical *sepulchrum*. In citing the Thursday-Friday reservation as an influence toward the formation of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* I have offered no explanation of the fact that in a large proportion of the extant versions of these dramatic offices the burial included both a Host and a Cross,¹ and that a good many texts prescribe the burial of the Cross alone.² In this use of the Cross we readily discern a second fundamental influence upon the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*: namely, that of the liturgical *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday.³

The *Adoratio Crucis* is certainly one of the oldest of the liturgical observances of Holy Week. The following passage

³⁷ Possibly the *Elevatio* is implied in the words *secum portato Christi Corpore*.

³⁸ See *Acta Sanctorum*, loc. cit., p. 104.

¹ See below, pp. 92-127.

² See below, pp. 72-91.

³ See *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 432; Chambers, II, 17-18.

from the *Peregrinatio Etheriæ* describes it as it was witnessed at Jerusalem in the fourth century by a noble lady from Gaul:⁴

Et sic ponitur cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post Crucem, quae stat nunc; residet episcopus hic cathedra; ponitur ante eum mensa sublinteata; stant in giro mensa diacones; et affertur locus argenteus deauratus in quo est lignum sanctum crucis; aperitur et profertur; ponitur in mensa quam lignum crucis quam titulus. Cum ergo positum fuerit in mensa, episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates de ligno sancto premet; diacones autem qui in giro stant custodent. Hoc autem propterea sic custoditur, quia consuetudo est ut unus et unus omnis populus veniens, tam fideles quam catechumini, acclinant se ad mensam, osculentur sanctum lignum, et pertranseant. Et quoniam, nescio quando, dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasset sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne quis veniens audeat denuo sic facere. Ac sic ergo omnis populus transit, unus et unus, toti acclinantes se, primum de fronte, sic de oculis tangentes crucem et titulum et sic osculantes crucem pertranseunt; manum autem nemo mittit ad tangendum.

The essential of the ceremonial at Jerusalem is that while the bishop holds the wood of the Holy Cross firmly in his hands, the clergy and people make obeisance and kiss it. This adoration of the true cross in Jerusalem gave the impulse for the adoration of relics of the cross elsewhere, and ceremonials clearly modeled upon the practice of Jerusalem were introduced into the West in the seventh or eighth century.⁵ Before examining the content of these western ceremonials, however, we may do well in surveying briefly the structure of the Mass of Good Friday, into which the *Adoratio* was incorporated.⁶

The Mass of Good Friday (*Missa Præsantificatorium*) is found not in the usual liturgical position of the daily and festal Mass,—between Terce and Sext,—but between None and Vespers. The office begins abruptly with two *lectiones*, the first of which is followed by a tract and a prayer, and the second of which is followed by a tract alone. Then after the *Passio* (from St. John) and a series of special *Orationes*, occurs the *Adoratio Crucis*. The office closes with the fetching of the presanctified Host, and the *Communio fidelium*.⁷ The office of

⁴ Duchesne, p. 510. The history and bibliography of this document are given by Duchesne, pp. 490–492.

⁵ See Thalhofer, I, 633; *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, VI, 643.

⁶ The explanation that follows conforms both to the mediaeval *Ordines Romani* and to the modern *Missale Romanum*.

⁷ The general nature of the *Missa Præsantificatorium* is explained above, p. 10.

Vespers follows immediately. The succession of liturgical pieces may be shown in outline as follows:⁸

NONA
MISSA PRAESANCTIFICATORUM
LECTIO I
TRACTUS
ORATIO
LECTIO II
TRACTUS
PASSIO
ORATIONES SOLEMNES
ADORATIO CRUCIS
[DEPOSITIO]
COMMUNIO FIDELIUM
[DEPOSITIO]
VESPERAE
[DEPOSITIO]

With the general structure of the Mass of Good Friday now before us, we may center our attention upon the *Adoratio Crucis* as observed in Western Europe. An early text of this ceremonial is forthcoming from the famous *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold:⁹

< ADORATIO CRUCIS >¹⁰

QUIBUS EXPLETIS PER ORDINEM, STATIM PREPARETUR CRUX ANTE ALTARE,
INTERPOSITO SPATIO INTER IPSAM *et* ALTARE, SUSTENTATA HINC *et* INDE A DUOBUS
DIACONIBUS. TUNC CANTENT:

Popule meus, <quid feci tibi?>

RESPONDENTES AUTEM DUO SUBDIACONI STANTES ANTE CRUCEM CANANT
GRECE:

Agios o Theos, Agyos ychiros, Agios athanathos, eleison ymas.

ITEMQUE SCHOLA IDIPSUM LATINE:

Sanctus Deus.

DEFERATUR TUNC AB¹¹ IPSIS DIACONIBUS ANTE ALTARE, *et* EOS ACCOLITUS

⁸ For purposes of subsequent reference, I insert in this outline an indication of the three liturgical positions in which the extra-liturgical *Depositiō* may be found.

⁹ British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius A. III, fol. 18^v-19^v. The bibliography of this document is cited below, p. 73. The document represents the use of Winchester in the tenth century. I print from the manuscript, with a result differing in no essential way from the text of W. S. Logeman, in *Anglia*, Vol. XIII (1891), pp. 418-421.

¹⁰ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III, fol. 18^v-19^v.

¹¹ ab] ad (MS).

CUM FULVILLO SEQUATUR SUPER QUEM *sanc*ta CRUX PONATUR. ANTIPHONAQUE FINITA QUAM SCOLA RESPONDIT LATINE CANANT IBIDEM SICUT PRIUS:

Quia eduxi¹² uos *per* desertum.

ITEM *uero* RESPONDEANT SUBDIACONI GRECE SICUT PRIUS:

Agios, UT SUPRA.

ITEMQUE SCOLA LATINE UT PRIUS:

Sanctus Deus.

ITEMQUE DIACONI LEUANTES CRUCEM CANANT SICUT PRIUS:

Quid ultra <debui facere tibi, et non feci?>

ITEM¹³ SUBDIACONI SICUT PRIUS:

Agyos, UT SUPRA.

ITEMQUE SCOLA LATINE:

Sanctus Deus, UT SUPRA.

POST HEC UERTENTES SE AD CLERUM, NUDATA CRUCE, DICANT ANTIPHONAM:

Ecce lignum crucis.

ALIA:

Crucem tuam adoramus.

ALIA:

Dum fabricator mundi. <fol. 19^r>

<P> ange lingua.

ILICO EA NUDATA, UENIAT ABBAS ANTE CRUCEM *sanc*tam AC TRIBUS VICIBUS SE PROSTERNAT CUM OMNIBUS *Fr*atribus DEXTERIORIS CHORI, SCILICET SENIORIBUS AC IUNIORIBUS, *et* CUM MAGNO CORDIS SUSPIRIO VII^m POENITENTIE PSALMOS CUM ORATIONIBUS *sanc*te CRUCI COMPETENTIBUS DECANTANDO¹⁴ PERORET. IN PRIMA QUIDEM ORATIONE TRES PSALMOS PRIMOS CUM ORATIONE:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te in cruce ascendentem. Deprecor te ut ipsa crux liberet me de diabolo percutiente.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te ut ipsa uulneratum. Deprecor te ut ipsa uulnera remedium sint anime mee.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te descendentem ad inferos, liberantem captiuos. Deprecor te ut non ibi me dimittas introire.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te resurgentem ab inferis, ascendentem ad celos. Deprecor te miserere mei.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te uenturum iudicaturum. Deprecor te ut in tuo aduentu non intres in iudicio cum me peccante, sed deprecor te ut ante dimittas quam iudices, qui uiuis *et* regnas.

IN SECUNDA DUOS MEDIOS CUM SEQUENTE¹⁵ ORATIONE:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor glorie coeternus patri *sanc*cto*que* *spir*itui ideo dignatus es carnem ex immaculata uirgine sumere *et* gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere, ut claustra dissipares inferni *et* humanum genus liberares de morte, respice *et* miserere michi misero obpresso facinorum pondere multarum*que* nequitiarum labe polluto no<n> me digneris derelinquere,

¹² Quia eduxi] Qua edux (MS).

¹³ Item] Ite (MS).

¹⁴ Competentibus decantando] compenitentibus decantato (MS).

¹⁵ medios cum sequente] medioximus sequentem (MS).

piissime pater, sed indulge quod impie gessi. Exaudi me prostratum coram adoranda gloriosissima cruce tua, ut merear <fol. 19^v> tibi mundus assistere et placere conspectui tuo. Qui cum patre.

<I>N TERTIA ULTIMOS DUOS CUM ORATIONE:

Deus omnipotens Ihesu Xpiste, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti et de tuo sancto sanguine nos redemisti, mitte in me sensum et intelligentiam¹⁶ quomodo habeam ueram penitentiam et habeam bonam perseuerantiam omnibus diebus uite mee, Amen.

ET EAM HUMILITER DEOSCULANS SURGAT. DEHINC SINISTERIORIS CHORI¹⁷ OMNES Fratres EADEM MENTE DEUOTA PERAGANT. NAM SALUTATA AB ABBATE UEL OMNIBUS CRUCE, REDEAT IPSE ABBAS AD SEDEM SUAM USQUE DUM OMNIS CLERUS AC POPULUS HOC IDEM FACIAT.¹⁸

According to this *ordo* the *Adoratio* opens with the *Improperia*, or "Reproaches." Two deacons supporting the cross before the altar begin these reproaches of Christ (*Popule meus*), to each of which two subdeacons respond in Greek, and the choir, in Latin. After the first of these responses the Cross is laid upon a cushion. After the singing of the *Improperia* the Cross is uncovered, and three antiphons and the hymn *Pange lingua* are sung. Then the Abbot, along with half the choir, prostrates himself before the Cross and sings the seven penitential psalms, with appropriate prayers. The ceremony closes with the kissing of the Cross.

Although in its general content the *Adoratio* in St. Athelwold's *Concordia* is sufficiently representative, we shall do well in scrutinizing the ceremonial connected with this observance also in Rome itself. *Ordo I* speaks of it only very briefly, as follows:¹⁹

Post orationes præparatur crux ante altare, interposito spatio inter ipsam & altare, sustentata hinc inde a duobus acolythis, posito ante eam oratorio. Venit Pontifex, & adoratam deosculatur crucem; deinde presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, & ceteri per ordinem; deinde populus. Pontifex vero sedet in sede, usque dum omnes saluent. . . . Pontifex vero sedet dum persalutet populus crucem. Nam salutante Pontifice vel populo crucem, canitur semper antiphona, *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit; venite adoremus*. Dicitur psalmus cxviii: id est, *Beati immaculati*. Qua salutata & reposita in loco suo, descendit Pontifex ante altare.

¹⁶ intelligentiam] intellegentiam (MS).

¹⁷ chori] choris (MS).

¹⁸ Followed immediately by a version of the *Deposilio*, as printed below, p. 73.

¹⁹ Mabillon, II, 23.

The first of the Roman *ordines* really to outline the liturgical content of the *Adoratio* is *Ordo XIV*, which offers the following:²⁰

Finitis orationibus, procedit Pontifex ad altare; & stans ad dextrum cornu altaris accipit Crucem a ministris sibi præparatam sindone munda coopertam; & discooperiens eam a summitate, elevatis manibus solus incipit antiphonam, *Ecce lignum crucis*, adjuvantibus eum in cantu qui assistunt ei. Cum autem *Venile adoremus* cantaverint, omnes prostrati reverenter adorent, & usque ad terram se inclinent; & repetitur antiphona, *Ecce lignum*, &c. a cantoribus in choro. Iterum Pontifex paululum procedens, & Crucem ad medietatem discooperiens, amplius elevatis manibus, exaltando vocem, eandem antiphonam solus incipit, in cantando juvantibus eum qui circa ipsum sunt; & secundo a cantoribus antiphona repetitur. Et tertio procedit Pontifex ante altare, discooperiens Crucem totam, erectis sursum manibus altius incipit, *Ecce lignum crucis*; & tertio a cantoribus repetitur antiphona; & tertio dum cantatur *Venile adoremus*, adoratur ab omnibus. Tunc Pontifex cum chirothecis nondum extractis deponit manibus suis Crucem super stratum pallium & mundissima linteamina ad radicem altaris, & discalceatus tertio prostratus solus Crucem adorat; quo facto, revertitur ad sedem suam, & ibi recipit deposita calciamenta. . . . Postmodum omnis chorus ordinate adorent. Interim autem cantores cantent vicissim, *Agios*, repetentes, *Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis*, &c.; antiphona <m>, *Popule meus, quia eduxi te de terra. Quid ultra debui facere*, cum toto improprio; & alias antiphonas, *Adoramus te Christe, Crucem tuam*, & *Salva nos Christe, salva*; & psalmus, *Deus misereatur*, & hymnus, *Pange, & Cruz fidelis*. Finita adoratione Crucis, sacrista vel alius ad hoc deputatus deponit Crucem in suo loco super altare, & accendit luminaria in altare.

In its liturgical elements this *ordo* does not differ fundamentally from that furnished in St. Athelwold's *Concordia*. The variation between them in sequence and in details of content is not important. Although *Ordo XIV* does not mention the actual kissing of the Cross, we may assume that the prostration before the Cross includes this additional act also.

Another of the *Ordines Romani* may be cited here, not for indications as to the liturgical content of the *Adoratio* itself, but rather for a description of the ceremonial preceding and following. In *Ordo XII* we find these rubrics:²¹

Feria sexta in Parasceve, in aurora dominus Papa facit omnes capellanos coram sua præsentia evocari, & voce mediocri cantat psalterium; quo cantato, revertuntur capellani. *Sexta vero hora* dominus Papa cum omnibus cardinalibus intrat basilicam sancti Laurentii; & facta oratione, ibi accedit ad altare; &

²⁰ Mabillon, II, 368-369.

²¹ Mabillon, II, 181-182, 183.

aperto altari extrahit inde capita apostolorum Petri & Pauli, & duas cruces.²² Quæ omnia postquam dominus Papa cum cardinalibus osculatus fuerit, reponit ibidem; & accepta una cruce, & iterum sigillato altari, unus presbyterorum cardinalium Crucem accipit, & sic vadit usque ad ecclesiam Lateranensem, sine aliquo cantu & psalmis; factaque ibi oratione ascendit cathedram post altare. Tunc dominus Papa induit quadragesimalia indumenta, & excalceatur. Episcopi vero induunt pluvialia, presbyteri autem cardinales & diaconi atque subdiaconi induunt planetam. Et deinde juniori presbytero cardinali accepto Corpore Christi in capsella ante pectus suum hesternæ die reservato, & alio prædictam Crucem accipiente, & subdiacono regionario cum populo suo præcedente, omnes discalceati cum domino Papa & primicerio, sine cantu psallendo psalterium pergunt ad Sanctam Crucem²³ . . . <Lectiones, Passio, Orationes> . . . Finitis orationibus, Pontifex procedit ad altare, & adorat Crucem cum aliis, sicut in Ordine continetur. Sciendum tamen, quod secundum antiquam consuetudinem, quicquid super Crucem offertur, Scholæ Crucis debet esse. Osculata vero Cruce a clero & populo, dominus Papa revertitur ad altare . . . <Communio et Vesperæ> . . . Et deinde revertitur ad palatium,²⁴ & intrans Basilicam Sancti Laurentii,²⁵ Crucem quam acceperat ab altari, reponit.

For our present purpose the significance of this ceremonial lies in the two processions, one preceding the *Missa Præsanctificationum* and the other following Vespers. The papal station for Good Friday is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis (Santa Croce in Gerusalemme). Before proceeding from the Lateran Palace to this church, however, the Pope enters the Capella Sancti Laurentii (Sancta Sanctorum),²⁶ adjoining the Palace, and taking a cross from a chest under the altar, proceeds with it to the Church of the Lateran. Thence the procession, bearing the cross from the Sancta Sanctorum and a reserved Host from the Church of the Lateran, moves out through the city to the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis. The Cross serves for the *Adoratio*

²² Concerning these relics see H. Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz*, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 39–108.

²³ This is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis, or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

²⁴ The Lateran Palace.

²⁵ The Basilica Sancti Laurentii, or Sancta Sanctorum is a private chapel at the Lateran, as is explained below.

²⁶ For a description and history of this chapel and its relics see Grisar, pp. 11–108; M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, Rome, 1891, pp. 108–112; H. Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. III (*Basiliques et Églises de Rome*), Paris and Rome, 1902, pp. 101–102; *Johannis Diaconi Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi*, cap. xiv, in Mabillon, II, 572–573. This famous chapel of St. Laurence, or *Sancta Sanctorum*, was the private chapel of the Popes during the centuries of their residence at the Lateran.

Crucis,²⁷ and the Host, for the Communion of the *Missa Præ-sanctificatorum*. After Vespers have been sung at the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis, the Pope carries the Cross in procession back to the Sancta Sanctorum and restores it to its place under the altar.²⁸

Although the details of this *ordo* are highly satisfying in their completeness, the relatively late date of *Ordo XII* (twelfth century) suggests the desirability of examining a similar text of the eighth century from Einsiedeln:²⁹

Fer. vi, hora quasi viii, descendit domnus apostolicus de Lateranis in sanctum Johannem, verumtamen discalceatus tam ipse quam reliqui ministri sanctæ ecclesiæ, et veniunt ad altare. Et præcipit domnus apostolicus accendere lumen in ungiario, et accendit ex ipso lumen cui ipse iusserit duas faculas albas, quas portant duo clerici de cubiculo ante domnum. Et procedent de sancto Johanne psallendo *Beati immaculati*, archidiacono tenente sinistram manum domni apostolici, et ipso pontifice in dextera sua portante turibulum cum incenso et alio diacono post dorsum domni apostolici portante lignum pretiosæ crucis in capsâ de auro cum gemmis ornata. Crux vero ipsa de ligno pretioso desuper ex auro cum gemmis intus cavam habens confectionem ex balsamo satis bene olente. Et dum preveniunt ad Hierusalem³⁰ intrant ecclesiam, et ponit diaconus ipsam capsam ubi est crux super altare et sic aperit eam domnus apostolicus. Deinde prosternit se ante altare ad orationem: et postquam surgit osculatur eam et vadit et stat circa sedem. Et per eius iussionem osculantur episcopi, presbiteri, diaconi, subdiaconi super altare ipsam crucem. Deinde ponunt eam super arcellam ad rugas et ibi osculatur eam reliquus populus. Tamen feminae ibi non introeunt; sed postea portant eam oblatis et alii subdiaconi et osculatur a feminis. Verumtamen ut a domno apostolico fuerit osculata, statim ascendit subdiaconus in ambonem et incipit legere lectionem Osee prophetæ. Post cuius descensum ascendit cantor et canit gr(aduale) *Domine audi vi* cum versibus suis. Et iterum ascendit subdiaconus et legit aliam lectionem Deuteronomii; post quem cantor ascendens incipit tractatum *Qui habitat*. Quo completo vadit diaconus discalceatus cum evangelio, et cum eo duo subdiaconi, et legit passionem Domini secundum Johannem. Et cum completa fuerit, dicit domnus apostolicus orationem *Oremus pro ecclesia*

²⁷ Concerning the *Adoratio Crucis* at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme see Armellini, p. 800; Marucchi, p. 347.

²⁸ This procession back from Santa Croce to the Sancta Sanctorum is described by A. De Santi, *Il Mattino di Pasqua nella Storia liturgica*, Rome, 1917, p. 12. This monograph is a revision of an article published in *Civiltà Cattolica* (1907), Vol. II, p. 3-22.

²⁹ Printed from Einsiedeln MS 326 by G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christiani Urbis Romæ*, Vol. II, Rome, 1888, p. 34.

³⁰ This is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis—the modern church Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

sancta Dei, et dicit archidiaconus *Flectamus genua*, et postea dicit *Levate*, et reliqua omnia in ordine suo. Et ad finem tantum dicit *Dominus vobiscum* et respondent *Et cum spiritu tuo*. Et procedent iterum ad Lateranis psallendo *Beati immaculati*. Attamen apostolicus ibi non communicat nec diaconi; qui vero communicare voluerit communicat de capsis de sacrificio quod v feria servatum est. Et qui noluerit ibi communicare vadit per alias ecclesias Romae seu per titulos et communicat.

This document is particularly generous in its description of the Cross itself³¹ and of the actual *Adoratio*. One notes, however, the absence of reference to the fetching of the Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum and to the subsequent depositing of it again in the altar of this Lateran chapel. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the Cross employed is undoubtedly identical with that mentioned in *Ordo XII*, the processions from the Sancta Sanctorum and back again are inevitable. The ceremonials of the Einsiedeln document and of *Ordo XII* are essentially similar.³²

From the information now before us we may make some estimate of the possible influence of the *Adoratio* upon the *Depositio*. At least three of the documents cited above³³ record established ceremonials earlier than the date of the first recorded examples of the *Depositio*,³⁴ and in these documents are several suggestions toward the dramatic office under consideration.³⁵ In the first place, since the *Adoratio* itself is a vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion, nothing could be more natural than that a vivid commemoration of the Burial should be invented as a sequel to the *Adoratio*. Any taking down of the Cross after the ceremony of the *Adoratio* must inevitably suggest a representation of the burial of the crucified Christ

³¹ This description is mentioned by Grisar (p. 70), whose own complete and scientific description of the relic is found on pp. 62-82 of the monograph mentioned above.

³² For our present study there is no significance in the altered *position* of the *Adoratio* in the Einsiedeln *ordo*—before the *lectiones* of the *Missa Prasancificationis* rather than *after* the *Orationes solemnes*.

³³ The *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, *Ordo Romanus I*, and Da Rossi's *Ordo* from Einsiedeln.

³⁴ We hear of the *Depositio* first in the latter half of the tenth century. See above, p. 14, and below, p. 73.

³⁵ I do not, of course, mean to suggest that versions of the *Adoratio* later than the tenth century could not have influenced versions of the *Depositio* of a later date.

Himself.³⁶ Moreover the carrying back of the Cross from the *Adoratio* in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme to the chest under the altar of the Sancta Sanctorum may fairly be regarded as a conscious ceremonial of burial. In view of the wide-spread symbolizing of the altar as a tomb,³⁷ this procession inevitably suggests a *cortège* to a grave.³⁸ Whatever may have been the early practice elsewhere, the conspicuous ceremonial of Rome alone was quite adequate for suggesting the invention of a commemoration of Christ's burial in the dramatic form of a *Depositio*.

But the intimacy of the relation between the Roman liturgical use and the extra-liturgical dramatic offices of the *sepulchrum* is further to be discerned in what the *Ordines Romani* offer for Easter morning in the way of sequel to the laying down of the Cross after the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday. This sequel, which occurs in the Sancta Sanctorum immediately after Prime, before the Pope's departure for Mass at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, is described in *Ordo Romanus XII* as follows:³⁹

In die Paschæ mane post Primam indutus albo pluviali Romanus Pontifex, cum diaconis cardinalibus indutis, cum subdiaconis ceterisque minoribus ordinibus, dalmaticis, & mitris, & tunicis indutis, & cappelanis suis, vadit ad basilicam sancti Laurentii. Presbyteri cardinales induunt se planetis, episcopi pluvialibus in loco, qui dicitur basilica sancti Gregorii; ubi post orationem

³⁶ It is only fair to observe that the Cross used in the papal *Adoratio* at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme bears no figure of the *Corpus* itself. See Grisar, pp. 62-82.

³⁷ See above, p. 16.

³⁸ De Santi considers this procession—as prescribed in the passage quoted above from *Ordo XII*—to be a deliberate symbolical representation of Christ's burial in a *sepulchrum*, as he shows in the following words (p. 12): "Questa riposizione non deve passare inosservata, perchè ci sembra l'unico accenno nelle consuetudini pontificie all' uso assai largamente sparso nelle altre Chiese di deporre solennemente la croce adorata nella funzione del venerdì santo in una specie de sepolcro che allestivasi a questo intento, conservandola quivi devotamente fino al momento della risurrezione nel mattino di Pasqua." De Santi seems to regard the Roman procession as a definite example of the *Depositio*. I have remarked above (p. 26) that although this procession is not explicitly prescribed in the earlier *Ordines Romani*, it was, from the circumstances, inevitable.

³⁹ Mabillon, II, 184-185. This ceremony is the special subject of consideration in the monograph of De Santi (see particularly pp. 11-16). See also Grisar, p. 43; Armellini, p. 111; Marucchi, pp. 67, 102.

induitur usque ad dalmaticam; & exurgens ingreditur ad adorandum Salvatorem. Aperit imaginem, osculatur pedes Salvatoris, dicens alta voce tribus vicibus, *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*; & omnes ei respondent: *Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, Alleluia*. Tunc acolythi ponunt crucem cepellæ super altare, & dominus Papa adorat eam. Post osculationem Salvatoris, cum omnibus aliis deinde redit ad sedem, & dat pacem archidiacono redeunti ab osculo pedum ejus imaginis, dicens, *Surrexit Dominus vere*; & ille respondet, *Et apparuit Simoni*. Secundus quoque diaconus osculatis pedibus Salvatoris, accedit ad pacem summi Pontificis & archidiaconi, & ponit se in filo; ceteri vero diaconi cardinales similiter faciunt. Deinde primicerius cum cantoribus eo modo ad pacem vadit, & in filo se dirigit. Prior quoque basilicæ cum diaconis similiter; postmodum subdiaconi regionarii cum acolythis & capellanis, & aliis palatinis ordinibus, eodem modo pacem faciunt. Interim schola canit, *Crucifixum in carne*, & *Ego sum alpha & omega*.

This ceremony consists primarily in the kissing of the feet of the famous painting of Christ known as the *Acheropoïta* ("Not made by the hand of man"),⁴⁰ a figure of life size painted upon a panel of wood against the wall behind the altar. It appears that at all periods the painting was protected by some sort of covering;⁴¹ and the *ordo* before us implies such protection in the words *aperit imaginem*, which indicate the exposing of the feet of the figure in order that they may be kissed. After the triple singing of the versicle *Surrexit Dominus*, a cross is placed upon the altar for adoration. If this is the cross previously used in the *Adoratio*, it must have been taken up from the relic-chest under the altar.⁴² The ceremony closes with the Kiss of Peace.

This papal observance on Easter morning reinforces the ceremonial of Good Friday in providing a model for the extraliturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* that we are to consider. Just as the return of the Cross to the altar of the *Sancta Sanctorum* on Good Friday suggests the *Depositio*, so the observance at this same altar on Easter morning offers a parallel to the *Elevatio*. Although the kissing of the feet of the *Acheropoïta*

⁴⁰ The most adequate description of this relic known to me is that given by Grisar, pp. 39-54. See also Armellini, p. 111; Marucchi, p. 102.

⁴¹ The earliest extant reference to the *Acheropoïta* is from the eighth century. A covering of silver was provided by Innocent III (1198-1216). The nature of the earlier coverings is obscure. See Grisar, p. 41.

⁴² Whether or not this cross is the one used previously on Good Friday, it was almost certainly elevated from the relic-chest under the altar. The two important crosses kept in this chest are described by Grisar, pp. 58-97.

seems to establish no particular bond with the *Elevatio*, the adoring of the elevated cross and the giving of the *Pax* will be frequently paralleled in the dramatic texts to be considered.⁴³

Since a knowledge of the liturgical uses of Rome must have been widely disseminated, we are amply justified in citing the papal ceremonies as possible sources for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. We have already observed that the Roman *Adoratio Crucis* antedates the earliest versions of the *Depositio*.⁴⁴ Although the papal ceremony of Easter morning cited above comes from documents later than the earliest manifestations of the *Elevatio*,⁴⁵ it is highly probable that this ceremony is much older than these particular documents; and in any case, even though this particular ceremony may not be among the ultimate origins of the *Elevatio*, it may well have influenced the dramatic office at some period of its career.

III

From a consideration of the origins of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* I now pass to the examination of actual texts of these dramatic offices. For convenience, I shall divide the versions before me into three groups. Into the first group fall the versions in which the object "buried" is the Host, in the second group of versions this central object is the Cross, and in the versions of the third group are found both the Host and the Cross. In arranging the texts within each group I shall proceed, in general, from the simple to the more complex. Hence I am guided not so much by chronology of documents as by relative amplitude of liturgical content and of ceremonial. One scarcely need remark that the simpler, and often earlier, versions are sometimes preserved in documents later than those containing examples of a more complex development. I do not, however, insist that the order in which I present the several versions, and groups of versions, demonstrably repre-

⁴³ For example, see below, pp. 99-101, 103, 108, 124.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 26.

⁴⁵ *Ordo Romanus XII* from which I quote above is of the twelfth century, as is also *Ordo Romanus XI*, which also describes the papal ceremony under consideration.

sents the precise historical evolution. For such a demonstration the historical *data* are, as yet, insufficient. The following survey, then, attempts not so much to establish an historical sequence as to present an orderly exposition.

In the present section of this study I shall examine those versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*¹ in which is buried the Host alone.

The simplest example in this group is the following *Elevatio* of the eleventh century from St. Gall:²

<ELEVATIO HOSTILE>³

SUBLATO IGITUR CORPORE DOMINI DE MONUMENTO INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Angelus Domini descendit <de cœlo et accedens revolvit lapidem, et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum queritis; jam surrexit, venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia. VERSUS: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem queritis, an Ihesum queritis? Jam surrexit.>⁴

INTRANTIBUS AUTEM IN CHORUM INCIPIAT CANTOR ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Xpictus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo,
a <ll>e <l>uia.

VERSUS:

Haec est alma dies in qua spoliatur auernus;
Resurrexit homo Deus, exultate redempti.
Te Deum Laudamus.⁵

This brief text prescribes merely the raising of the *Corpus Domini* from the *sepulchrum*, after which the procession from the place of burial proceeds to the choir during the singing of the reponsory *Angelus Domini*. As the procession enters the

¹ Throughout this study I shall consider the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in conjunction, and, as far as possible, shall allow the two offices to elucidate each other. Unhappily, however, a good many of the documents happen to preserve only one of the two offices. It should, of course, be remembered that the absence of either of the offices from a manuscript does not prove its absence from the use of the church concerned.

² St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 387, Breviarium Sangallense saec. xi, p. 55. The *Elevatio* from this manuscript was first published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, XVI, Part II, pp. 897-898. The manuscript contains neither *Depositio* nor *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

³ St. Gall MS 387, p. 55. In the manuscript this text is immediately preceded by the responsory *Dum transisset*, the last responsory of Easter Matins.

⁴ This responsory is commonly found as the first of Easter Matins. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769.

⁵ Followed immediately by the rubric *In Matulinis Laudibus*.

choir the antiphon *Surrexit Christus* is sung. The two hexameters *Haec est alma . . . redempti* are probably to be regarded as a trope of the *Te Deum Laudamus*.⁶ It is to be observed, however, that these lines contain a suggestion of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell, a theme that forms a prominent part of some of the more highly developed versions of the *Elevatio*.⁷

Particularly noticeable is the liturgical position of this text: between the third reponsory and the *Te Deum* at the end of Easter Matins. This is the position commonly occupied by the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the *Elevatio* being found, almost without exception, before the beginning of Matins. Since the present text of the *Elevatio* is a relatively early one, and since Durandus assures us that the *Te Deum* of Easter Matins is to be interpreted as marking the moment of the Resurrection,⁸ it may be that the St. Gall version represents an early usage. If Durandus' symbolizing of the Easter *Te Deum* is authentic for the early Middle Ages, the *Elevatio* is most appropriately placed at this point in the liturgy. It is entirely possible that this is an early arrangement, and that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* took this position only after the *Elevatio* had relinquished it.⁹

The following is a simple version of the *Depositio* from the use of Constance:¹⁰

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>¹¹

POST COMMUNIONEM LEGANTUR VESPERÆ SUB SILENTIO.

HIS OMNIBUS PERACTIS, PROCEDUNT CUM CORPORE DOMINI AD LOCUM UBI DEBET RECONDI, NIHIL CANTANTES; SED DUM VENITUR AD LOCUM, CANTOR IMPONIT ANTI-PHONAM:

⁶ See L. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, p. 170.

⁷ See below, for example, pp. 90-91, 111-118.

⁸ Treating the liturgical practices at the end of Easter Matins, Durandus (†1296) observes (*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* Lyons, 1559, fol. 372^v): *Te Deum laudamus* exprimit horam qua resurrexit.

⁹ See also the version from Gran, below, p. 123. I explain below (pp. 127-130) my belief that the *Visitatio Sepulchri* developed at the *sepulchrum* later than did the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

¹⁰ *Agenda seu Obsequiale, Simul ac Benedictionale, iuxta ritum et normam Ecclesiae at Episcopatus Constantiensis*, 1570, fol. xciii^v-xcvi^f. I have found copies of this book in the Royal Library, Munich, in the British Museum, and in the library of Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight. Lange (p. 7) cites a copy in the Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, and prints (p. 47) the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from it (fol. cxxi^v-cxxiii^v). The book contains no *Elevatio*.

¹¹ *Agenda . . . Episcopatus Constantiensis*, 1570, fol. xciii^v-xcvi^f.

In pace in idipsum dormiam et <fol. xcv^r> requiescam.¹²

ALIA *Antiphona*:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.¹³

IN REDITUM AD CHORUM CANITUR *responsorium*:

Sepulto *Domino*, signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti; <fol. xcv^r> ponentes milites qui custodirent eum.

Versus: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponent <fol. xcvi^r> tes milites.¹⁴

In this version of the *Depositio* the ceremonial is very simple. At the close of Vespers, during the singing of the antiphons *In pace in idipsum* and *Caro mea*, the Host is carried to the *locus* where it is to be hidden. For the laying down of the Host no rubrics are given. The processional for the return to the choir is the reponsory *Sepulto Domino*.

In the *Ordinarium* of the year 1580 for the use of Gran, in Hungary, we find definite provision made for the reservation on Holy Thursday of two Hosts for Good Friday: one for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* and one for burial in the *sepulchrum*.¹⁵

<IN CÆNA DOMINI>¹⁶

ET PRO DIE CRISTINA CONSECRANTUR HOSTIÆ DUÆ: ALTERA QUAM SUMP-
TURUS EST EPICOPUS VEL SACERDOS OFFICIUM PERACTURUS, ALTERA QUÆ REPON-
ETUR IN SEPULCHRUM.

After Vespers on Good Friday the *Depositio* was performed as follows:

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>¹⁷

DEMUM¹⁸ PONTIFEX¹⁹ VEL SACERDOS OFFICIANS, EXUTA CASULA, PORTANS IN

¹² First antiphon of Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 767.

¹³ Third antiphon of Matins of Holy Saturday. See *id.*, col. 768.

¹⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ordo in Vigilia Paschæ.

¹⁵ *Ordinarium officii Divini secundum consuetudinem Metropolitane Ecclesie Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. H 7 recto. I use the copy in the British Museum. The *Depositio* from this book is now reprinted, I believe, for the first time. The *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* have been reprinted by Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLI (1897), p. 81. The uses attached to the *sepulchrum* in Hungary are treated by J. Dankó, in *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1872, pp. 103-136, 175-208. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are considered by Dankó on pp. 175-190 *passim*.

¹⁶ *Ordinarium* . . . *Ecclesie Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. H 7 recto.

¹⁷ *Id.*, sig. I 4 recto.

¹⁸ Preceded immediately by Vespers.

¹⁹ Pontifex] Pontefex (Print).

MANIBUS ALTERAM HOSTIAM CONSECRATAM QUÆ PRO SEPULTURA HERI FUIT RESERUATA, IN PATENA SUPRA CALICEM COLLOCATAM, PALLA & LINTEOLO TECTAM, DESCENDIT CUM MINISTRIS VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, PRÆCEDENTIBUS CERO-FERARIIS & TURRIBULO, QUOD SEMEL CIRCUMIT. DEINDE REPOSIT IN ILLUD EANDEM HOSTIAM UNA CUM CALICE, CLAUDIT, OBSIGNAT, & PER CIRCUTUM INCENSAT, CHORO CANTANTE RESPONSORIA:

Hierusalem, luge, <et exue te vestibus jucunditatis; induere cinere cum cilicio, quia in te est occisus Salvator Israel. VERSUS: Montes Gelboe, nec ros, nec pluvia super vos descendat. Quia.>²⁰

ET:

Sepulto Domino. .

QUIBUS COMPLETIS CANTAT VERSUS: Adoramus te, Christe, ETC.; Omnis terra, ETC.; ET ORATIONEM: Deus, qui pro nobis. COMPLETORIUM HORA CON-SUETA LEGITUR UT HERI.

The ceremonial is here described in some detail. In the procession to the *sepulchrum* the bishop carries the Host upon a paten placed over the mouth of a chalice, the whole being covered with cloths. Eventually the Host, paten, and chalice are placed in the *sepulchrum*, which is closed, sealed, and censed during the singing of the responsories *Jerusalem luge* and *Sepulto Domino*. The office closes with versicles and a prayer.

The related *Elevatio* is provided for in the accompanying rubric:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>²¹

IN FESTO GLORIOSISSIMÆ RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI. PRIUSQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINUM, CLAUSIS IANUIS TEMPLI, SUCCUSTOS²² APERIT SEPULCHRUM, & APERTUM RELINQUIT. CORPUS DOMINI, QUOD IN SEPULCHRO POSITUM FUIT, REPOSIT IN MONSTRANTIAM, QUAM IN MENSA INDUMENTO ALTARIS DECENTER VESTITA ANTE OSTIUM SEPULCHRI SUPRA CORPORALE COLLOCAT, CUM DUABUS CANDELIS IN CANDELABRIS ARDENTIBUS. SICUT ENIM CERTUM EST CHRISTUM ANTEQUAM MULIERES & DISCIPULI AD SEPULCHRUM VENIRENT RESURREXISSE, ITA CONUENIT HANC CÆREMONIAM PERAGI PRIUSQUAM POPULUS IN TEMPLUM CONUENIAT.²³

One or two of the details in the rubric deserve special notice. Not only are we told that this office is performed by the sacristan in secret before Matins; we are also given the reason for the secrecy. It appears that since Christ rose before the arrival

²⁰ Second responsory of Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

²¹ *Ordinarium . . . Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Tirnavia, 1580, sig. I 8 recto.

²² succustos] succostos (Print).

²³ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matutinum, Inuitatorium.

of the Maries and the disciples at the tomb, the commemoration of the Resurrection should be made before the entrance of the people into the church.²⁴ It should be observed further that after being taken up, the Host is placed in a monstrance and put upon the *mensa* of the altar, before the *sepulchrum*. This arrangement suggests that the sepulchre is in this case the tabernacle behind the altar-table. For further evidence as to the disposition of the monstrance containing the Host we may scrutinize the related text of the *Visitatio*:

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>²⁵

AD MATUTINUM INUITATORIUM & ALIA OMNIA UT IN LIBRO. DUM AUTEM <SIG. I 8 VERSO>LECTIONES CANTANTUR, INDUUNTUR IN SACRARIO DIACONUS & SUBDIACONUS, PRO HOC FESTO IN TABULA NOTATI, VESTIBUS ALBIS, SUO ORDINI CONUENIENTIBUS. DISPONUNTUR DUO AD FERENDUM THUS & TURRIBULUM; ITEM DUO ALII AD PORTANDA VEXILLA. ET FINITA ULTIMA LECTIONE, DUM IN ORGANO INCIPITUR RESPONSORIUM: Dum transisset Sabbatum, DESCENDIT OFFICIANS CUM PRAEDICTIS & ALIIS MINISTRIS PROCESSIONALITER AD SEPULCHRUM, & ILLUD SEMEL CIRCUMIT, STATQUE ANTE MENSAM IN QUA EST MONSTRANTIA POSITA. UBI FINITO RESPONSORIO INCENSAT PRIMUM; DEINDE SUMIT IN MANUS MONSTRANTIAM, INCIPITQUE & CHORUS PROSEQUITUR INTROITUM: Resurrexi, SINE VERSU. QUI DUM A CHORO CANTATUR, PORTAT & PONIT SACRAMENTUM AD ALTARE SANCTÆ CRUCIS. ET POSTQUAM INTROITUS FUERIT FINITUS, DUO PUERI VENIUNT AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI, QUORUM UNUS CANTAT: Quem quae <sig. K 1 recto>ris mulier, alleluia.

ALTER VERO RESPONDET:

Iesum Nazarenum, alleluia.

RURSUS PRIMUS:

Surrexit, non est hic, alleluia; ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum, alleluia.

DEINDE ACCIPIENS IN MANUS MONSTRANTIAM, OFFICIANS IBIDEM APUD ALTARE SANCTÆ CRUCIS, VERTIT SE AD POPULUM, INCIPITQUE ANTIPHONAM:

Pax vobis, ego sum, alleluia,

²⁴ Another reason for excluding the general congregation from the *Elevatio* is cited by H. Alt (*Theater und Kirche*, Berlin, 1846, p. 348) from the Synod of Worms of the year 1316:

Quum a nostris antecessoribus ad nos usque pervenerit, ut in sacra nocte Dominicae Resurrectionis ad sustollendam Crucifixi imaginem de sepulcro, ubi in Parasceve locata fuerat, nimia virorum et mulierum numerositas certatim sese comprimendo, ecclesiam simul cum Canonicis et Vicariis introire nitantur, opinantes erronee: quod si viderent Crucifixi imaginem sustolli, evaderent hoc anno inevitabilem mortis horam. His itaque obviantes statuimus ut Resurrectionis Mysterium ante ingressum plebis in ecclesiam peragatur.

²⁵ *Ordinarium . . . Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. I 8 recto—K1 recto.

QUAM CHORUS PROSEQUITUR. ET HOC FIT TER, VOCE SEMPER ALTIUS ELEUATA.
QUIBUS PERACTIS, CANTATUR:

Te Deum laudamus,

AC REVERTITUR PROSESSIO AD CHORUM, & MONSTRANTIA COLLOCATUR IN ALTARI
MAIORI SUPER CORPORALE, & IBI STAT USQUE AD FINEM LAUDUM.²⁶

From this text we learn that after the third responsory at the end of the Matins the choir sings the Introit *Resurrexi*²⁷ while the monstrance is carried away from the altar at which the *sepulchrum* is located, and placed upon the *Altare Sanctæ Crucis*. This procedure leaves the *sepulchrum* empty and ready for the usual observances of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which are duly performed. During the singing of the antiphon *Pax vobis* the officiating priest blesses the congregation with the monstrance. The *Te Deum* is then sung, and the monstrance is carried to the main altar, to stand until the end of Lauds.

Several details in the observance at Gran suggest influences from the reservation of Holy Thursday: (1) the reservation together of the Host for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* and the Host for the *sepulchrum*,²⁸ (2) the use of an altar tabernacle as the *sepulchrum*,²⁹ and (3) the placing of the Host in a monstrance.³⁰

A still more elaborate ceremonial and a more extensive use of the monstrance are to be observed in a relatively late document, a *Rituale* of the year 1686 from Salzburg. The *Depositio* in this book has been described as follows:³¹

²⁶ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Laudes.

²⁷ This use of the Introit *Resurrexi* is important in its bearing upon the relation of the *Visitatio* of Easter Matins to the *Quem quæritis* trope at the Introit of the Easter Mass. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, 3.

²⁸ See above, p. 17.

²⁹ See above, p. 14.

³⁰ This use of the monstrance seems to reflect a relatively late practice connected with the Thursday reservation. See *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 433-439.

³¹ Since the Salzburg *Rituale* of 1686 has not been accessible to me, I quote the description of the *Depositio* from *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 429-430. Apparently the *Decreta Authentica* does not undertake to print the *Depositio verbatim* throughout.

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>³²

Feria VI in Parasceve, vel ante, scribit suprascriptum Rituale Salisburgense sub titulo: "Ordo ponendi SS. Corpus Domini in Sepulchrum," tempestive paratur locus vel cappella pro Sepulchro, velis et luminaribus, quantum fieri potest. Et facta a Celebrante in Missa Præsanctificationum Communione, ardentibus adhuc facibus vel candelis in choro, pro reverentia Hostiæ in calice relictæ, Celebrans stans imponit incensum in duo thuribula absque benedictione, incensat ter venerabile Sacramentum genuflexus. Interim ordinatur lugubris Processio. Praecedit crux, quam immediate sequitur clerus more solito, luminaria ferens, ultimo loco Sacerdos, casula nigra indutus, calicem coopertum velo albo manibus gestans, cum Ministris sub baldachino seu umbella incedens, choro interim cantante Responsorium: *Recessit Pastor* (ex II Noct. Matut. Sabb. S.) thurificantibus continuo duobus thuriferariis vel uno saltem in minoribus ecclesiis, adhibito quoque malleo ligneo cymbali loco. Interim reverenter ponitur calix cum hostia in loco, corporali mundo strato. Sacerdos facta genuflexione ac deposito velo humerali, removet calicis velum, patenam et pallam; et repetita genuflexione sacram Hostiam e calice desumptam ponit in lunula et in ostensorio, quod densiore velo sericeo albi coloris obtegit. Facta genuflexione purificat digitos super calicem, sumit ablutionem et extergit os et calicem purificatorio. Repetita genuflexione descendit in planum et genuflexus in infimo gradu expectat, donec Diaconus ostensorium in throno collocaverit. Deinde imponit incensum in thuribulum et genuflexus ter incensat Sanctissimum. Interim cantatur Responsorium: *Tenebrae factæ sunt* (ex II Noct. Matut. feriae VI in Parasc.). Quo finito dicit Sacerdos v. *Christus factus est pro nobis obediens* etc. et Orationem *Respice*.

Haec expositio SS. Sacramenti in ostensorio velato durat per totam diem Parasceves usque ad horam septimam serotinam, qua SS. Sacramentum ex ostensorio sumitur et cum lunula in custodia ponitur; tum silentio cum luminibus ad tabernaculum defertur, ubi particulæ pro infirmis asservantur. Sabbato Sancto autem mane ante vel post Missam (consuetudo in hoc puncto valde differt) iterum sub silentio SS. Sacramentum in custodia ad SS. Sepulchrum defertur, in ostensorium velatum includitur et sub silentio exponitur, incensatione more solito adhibita.

Ad Sepulchrum, dicit Rituale laudatum, ut supra paratum, non minus quam ad hesternum altare, adhibendi sunt nocte ac die testes quidam et custodes; nec desse debent, qui secundum ritum antiquum psallant.

Of the location of the *sepulchrum*, in this case, we are told only that it is in a "place or chapel." After the Communion of the *Missæ Præsanctificationum* the celebrant places the Host in a chalice covered by a paten and a pall, and carries it in procession to the *sepulchrum*, the choir singing the responsory *Recessit pastor*. Here the Host is removed from the chalice,

³² From *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 429-430, the description being based upon the *Rituale Salisburgense* of 1686.

deposited in a monstrance, placed *in throno*, and censed. Meanwhile the choir sing the responsory *Tenebræ factæ*, at the conclusion of which the celebrant says the verse *Christus factus* and a prayer. After the monstrance has stood exposed until seven in the evening, it is placed in a tabernacle apart. On Saturday morning the Host is returned to the *sepulchrum*, where it is censed and again exposed in the monstrance. During the exposition of Friday and Saturday guards sing psalms at the *sepulchrum*.

The *Elevatio* at Salzburg takes the following form:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>³³

NOCTE SANCTA PASCHAE, HORA CONGRUA, SACERDOS INDUTUS ALBA, STOLA, ET PLUVIALI ALBI COLORIS ET MINISTRI SACRI CUM DEBITIS PARAMENTIS, PRAECEDENTIBUS THURIFERARIIS CUM INCENSO ET THURBULIS FUMIGANTIBUS, SEQUENTIBUS IUXTA CRUCEM DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS CUM CANDELIS ACCENSIS, CHORO ET CLERO, SINGULIS CUM SUIS CANDELIS, VENIUNT ORDINE AD SEPULCHRUM, PRO DEFERENDO PROCESSIONALITER SS. SACRAMENTO, UBI FACTA GENUFLEXIONE UTROQUE GENU ALIQUANTISPER ORANT. SACERDOS SURGENS ET STANS IMPONIT INCENSUM IN THURIBULUM ABSQUE BENEDICTIONE. TUM GENUFLEXUS THURIFICAT VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM TRIPLICI DUCTU; DIACONUS DEINDE ILLUD E THRONO DEPROMPTUM PONIT SUPER ALTARE, CORPORALI STRATUM, ET VELUM AB OSTENSORIO REMOVET. SACERDOS VELO ALBO OBLONGO CIRCUMDATUS, ACCIPIT SANCTISSIMUM REVERENTER ET PROCESSIONALI RITU, PRAECEDENTIBUS CLERICIS CUM LUMINIBUS ET MINISTRIS CONTINUO THURIFICANTIBUS, CYMBALISQUE PERSONANTIBUS ILLUD DEPORTAT EX SEPULCHRO PER TOTAM ECCLESIAM (VEL ETIAM EXTRA ECCLESIAM CIRCA LOCA VICINA, UTI IN AUSTRIA MOS EST) ET TUNC AD ALTARE MAIUS, INTERIM CHORO INCHOANTE, ET IN TONO FESTIVO (INTERPOSITO ETIAM, UBI FIERI POTEST, ORGANO) CANTANTE HYMNUM: Aurora coelum purpurat, etc.

ITAEQUE SACERDOS, CUM PERVENERIT AD ALTARE MAIUS ET POSUERIT IBIDEM VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM, FACIT PROFUNDAM GENUFLEXIONEM, STANSQUE ITERUM IMPONIT INCENSUM ABSQUE BENEDICTIONE, ET SANCTISSIMUM TRIPLICI DUCTU GENUFLEXUS INCENSAT. POSTEA CANITUR A MINISTRIS VEL IPSO SACERDOTE, IPSIS DEFICIENTIBUS V<ERSUM>: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, Alleluia. R<ESPONSIO>: Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, Alleluia. Oremus: Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem etc. (EX MISSA SABB. S.).

TUNC GENUFLECTUNT CELEBRANS ET MINISTRI IN INFIMO ALTARIS GRADU ET A CHORO CANTATUR HYMNUS Tantum ergo et Genitori. INTERIM IMPONITUR THUS ET INCENSATUR SANCTISSIMUM; TUM CANTANTUR VERSICULUS ET ORATIO DE SS. SACRAMENTO. ET FACTA VENERABILI SACRAMENTO PROFUNDA REVERENTIA, SACERDOS ACCEPTO SUPER HUMEROS VELO OBLONGO ALBO, QUO IN PROCESSIONE USUS FUIT, AD ALTARE ASCENDIT, SS. SACRAMENTUM REVERENTER ACCIPIT,

³³ From the *Rituale Salisburgense* of 1686 as quoted in *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 439.

ET STANS, CUM EODEM, POPULO IN MODUM CRUCIS BENEDICIT, NIHIL DICENS, ILLUDQUE IN TABERNACULO, ABSQUE ULTERIORE INCENSATIONE, RECONDIT ET CUM SUIS AD SACRISTIAM VEL CHORUM REDIT. IN MAIORIBUS ECCLESIIIS INCHOATUR MATUTINUM, IN CUIUS FINE HYMNUS Te Deum SOLEMNISSIME CANTATUR; IN MINORIBUS CANTARI POTERIT CANTIO PASCHALIS: Surrexit Christus hodie, AUT ALIA CONVENIENS.

According to this version the *Elevatio* begins, before Easter Matins, with a procession, in which the monstrance containing the Host is carried from the *sepulchrum* through the length of the church to the main altar while the choir sings the hymn *Aurora coelum purpurat*. While the monstrance rests upon the main altar, it is censed, and a versicle (*Surrexit*), a response (*Qui pro nobis*), and a prayer are uttered. Still further, the hymns *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori* are sung, and a versicle and prayer are said. The priest now raises the monstrance, blesses the congregation with it, and places it in a tabernacle.

Once more, the conspicuous use of the monstrance at Salzburg seems to reflect the influence of the reservation of Holy Thursday in one of its relatively modern practices.

In the first version of the *Elevatio* considered in the present section of this study³⁴ we observed at least a hint of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell. A more substantial reference to this theme is present in the *Elevatio* from the cathedral of Strassburg. Of this *Elevatio*, and of the related *Depositio*, we have several texts; and since these texts vary among themselves in interesting matters of detail, I shall first present the documents, in their chronological order.³⁵

A manuscript of the thirteenth century preserves both the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in the following simple forms:³⁶

³⁴ See above, pp. 30-31.

³⁵ I omit from consideration the texts printed by G. Milchsack (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 122-123) as coming from "Ordo Wirceburgensis c. a. 1490." Lange (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 8, 48) affirms that the book from which Milchsack quotes is a Strassburg "Agende" of the year 1513.

³⁶ London, British Museum, Additional MS 23922, Liber Responsalis Argentinensis saec. xiii, fol. 37^r, 41^v. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* from this manuscript (fol. 41^v-42^v) is printed by Lange, pp. 49-50. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are, I believe, now printed for the first time.

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>³⁷

ET COMMUNICANT OMNES CUM SILENTIO. DEINDE DUM UADUNT CUM CRUCE AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI, CANTETUR *responsorium*:

Sicut ovis ad<occisionem ductus est, et dum male tractaretur non aperuit os suum; traditus est ad mortem, ut vivificaret populum suum>.

Versus: In pace factus est<locus eius, et in Sion habitatio ejus>,³⁸

CUM ANTIPHONA:

Antiphona: In pace in idipsum.

Antiphona: Caro mea.

ET PRESBYTERO NECTENTE FILA, CANTETUR *antiphona*:

Sepulto domino<signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud>.³⁹

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁰

PRIUSQUAM⁴¹ DETUR SIGNUM AD MATUTINUM, SACERDOTES LAUENT MANUS SUAS, ET FACTA CONFESSIOE, VADANT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM PSALMO:

Domine, quid<multiplicati sunt>,⁴²

et *antiphona*:

Ego dor<mivi et somnum cepi, et resurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscepit me, alleluia, alleluia.>⁴³

RECEDENDO DICATUR *antiphona*:

Cum rex *gloriae*.⁴⁴

A more ample description of the ceremonial of the Strassburg *Elevatio* is found in the following text given by Martène from a manuscript of the fourteenth century:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁵

PRIUSQUAM DETUR SIGNUM AD MATUTINUM, CONVENIANT IN CAPELLAM S. ANDRÆE CANONICI, SACERDOTES, & ALII, & SACERDOS INDUTUS SUPERPELLICEO & DESUPER CAPPA, ADJUNCTIS LATERIBUS SUI DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS CAPPATIS,

³⁷ British Museum, Add. MS 23922, fol. 37^r.

³⁸ Responsory for the third nocturn in Matins on Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

³⁹ Antiphon from Lauds of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769. My text is followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Vesperas.

⁴⁰ British Museum, Add. MS 23922, fol. 41^v. This *ordo* for the *Elevatio* is written by a contemporary hand in the left margin.

⁴¹ Through cutting away of the page, the reading of the first five letters of this word is rendered uncertain.

⁴² Psalm iii.

⁴³ Third antiphon of Easter Matins. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769.

⁴⁴ The marginal entry ends thus abruptly.

⁴⁵ E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Lyons, 1706, pp. 504–505, from “Argenteratensis ecclesiæ Ordinarium ex veteri codice anno 1364 manu exaratum.” Martène does not give a *Deposito* from this manuscript.

PRÆCEDENTE HEBDOMADARIO CAPPATO, CUM INCENSU & MAGNIS CANDELIS CONTORSIS, & LOTIS MANIBUS INTROEANT SEPULCHRUM. QUO INGRESSO, FACIANT CONFESSIONEM DICENDO: Confiteor Deo. Misereatur vestri. DEINDE DICATUR PSALMUS:

Domine, quid multiplicati sunt,

CUM ANTIPHONA:

Ego dormivi,

SUB SILENTIO PRONUNCIATA. TUNC SACERDOS ACCIPIAT CORPUS CHRISTI DE PIXIDE, & LEVANS IN ALTUM OSTENDAT ILLUD POPULO CORAM SEPULCHRO. POST OSTENSIONEM & ADORATIONEM POPULI, REPONAT IN PYXIDEM, & SIC TOLLENTES INDE CORPUS DOMINI, RECEDUNT CUM ANTIPHONA:

Cum rex gloriæ,

SUB SILENTIO PRONUNCIATA. SED INTERIM IN CHORO CANITUR PRÆDICTA ANTIPHONA CANORA VOCE A CLERO, DEMISSOQUE IBI SUDARIO USQUE POST MATUTINAS. CUM AUTEM PERVENERINT IN CHORUM CUM CORPORE DOMINI, SACERDOS STET IN ALTARI, ET OSTENDAT CLERO & POPULO CORPUS CHRISTI, LEVANDO IPSUM SICUT SOLET LEVARI IN MISSA. DEINDE REPONAT IN PYXIDEM CORPUS CHRISTI, & PORTET AD ALTARE S. LAURENTII, & IBIDEM SIMILITER OSTENDAT. DIMISSOQUE IBI SACRAMENTO REVERTATUR IN CHORUM, LOTIS IBI PRIUS QUATUOR SUMMITATIBUS DIGITORUM SUORUM IN CALICE; STATIMQUE COM-PULSANTUR OMNIA SIGNA.⁴⁶

We may complete our presentation of the Strassburg texts with the series from an *ordinarium* of the year 1590.⁴⁷ The reservation on Holy Thursday of a Host for the *sepulchrum* is prescribed as follows:

< IN CENA DOMINI >

TRES QUOQUE HOSTIAE CONSECRENTUR HODIE, UNA PRO PRÆSENTI MISSA, ALTERA PRO OFFICIO CRASTINO, TERTIA PRO SEPULCHRO DOMINI. SANGUIS AUTEM PENITUS CONSUMATUR. DENIQUE PARVAE HOSTIAE CONSECRANDAE HODIE SUNT, ET RESERVANDAE IN SEQUEMTEM DIEM, PRO COMMUNICANDIS.⁴⁸

The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from the same document are ordered as follows:

The *Visitatio* from it is reprinted from Martène (p. 505) by C. Lange, in *Jahresbericht über die Realschule erster Ordnung in Halberstadt* (Program No. 223), Halberstadt, 1881, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁶ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matutinum.

⁴⁷ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590. I quote from the copy in the Hofbibliothek, Munich. All the texts now printed, together with the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, have been published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 911-914. Lange duly mentions (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 8, 50) the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the print of 1590.

⁴⁸ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590, p. 214.

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁹

COMMUNIONE⁵⁰ PERACTA, PROCE DAT SACERDOS AD SEPULCHRUM, CUM CORPORE DOMINI REPOSITO IN CORPORALI, UEL IN CALICE, UEL IN SACRATA PYXIDE. PRAECEDANT ERGO MINISTRI CUM INCENSO, ET DUO PUERI, CUM CANDELIS CUM PROCESSIONE, USQUE AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI, UBI DEBET RECONDI CORPUS DOMINI, CANTANDO RESPONSORIUM:

Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est, et dum male tractaretur non aperuit os suum. Traditus est ad mortem, ut vivificaret populum suum. VERsus: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitatio eius.

Antiphona:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

SACERDOTE NECTENTE FILA, CANTETUR HOC *antiphona*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custo<p. 226>dierunt illud.

STATIM LEGANTUR VESPERAE IN EODEM LOCO.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁵¹

ORDO VISITANDI SEPULCHRUM IN DIE SANCTO PASCHAE.

SUMMO MANE ANTEQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS CONVENIAT CLERUS, ET QUI VOLUERINT INTRARE SEPULCHRUM LAUENT MANUS SUAS, ET UENIANT ANTE PRINCIPALE ALTARE UEL PROPE SEPULCHRUM, ET LEGANT SEPTEM PSALMOS POENITENTIALIAES. <p. 252>QUIBUS FINITIS, DICANT:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

PRECES:

Exurge, Domine, adiua nos. Et redime nos propter nomen tuum. Exurge gloria mea. Exurge psalterium et cithara. Exurgam diluculo. Confitebor in populis, Domine. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te ueniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Exaudi, quaesumus, Domine, supplicum preces, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis ut pariter indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

DEINDE DICANT:

Confiteor Deo Patri, et Misereatur, et Indulgent, etc.

FACTA CONFESSIOE, UADANT AD SEPULCHRUM DICENDO *psalmum*:

Domine, quid multiplicati.

SEQUETUR *antiphona*, QUAM CANTENT SUB SILENTIO:

Ego dormivi et somnum cepi, et exurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscepit me, alleluia, alleluia. Euouae.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁰ The Communion at the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

⁵¹ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590, pp. 251-252.

ET TOLLENTES INDE CORPUS DOMINI REDEANT IN CHORUM, CANTANDO SUB-MISSA VOCE ANTI¹PHONAM:

Cum rex gloriae Christus infernum debellaturus intraret et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet, sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captivus, voce lachrymabili clamauerat: Aduenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris. Te nostra uocabant suspiris; te larga requirebant lamenta. Tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, Alleluia.

QUAE CONSUETUDO UBI FUERIT, SERVANDA ERIT. ET STATIM CUM REDIERINT IN CHORUM, OSTENSO SACRAMENTO IN ALTARI SICUT FIT IN MISSA, DEINDE CANTENTUR MATUTINAE.

With these several texts before us we may now examine some of the details of the Strassburg use. In liturgical content the two texts of the *Depositio* are substantially identical, and both are found between Mass and Vespers. According to the longer rubrics of the text of 1590, the Host⁵² is carried to the *sepulchrum* in a corporal, a chalice, or a pyx, and the procession is provided with incense and lights. After the laying down of the Host, the sealing of the *sepulchrum* appears to be accomplished by the tying of chords.

For the details of the *Elevatio* we may center our attention upon the text from the fourteenth century communicated by Martène, because of its full indications as to ceremonial. The office occupies the usual liturgical position, before Easter Matins, and it opens with a familiar procession. It appears that the *sepulchrum* provided is of unusual amplitude, for at least a part of those in the procession are able to enter it. Those who enter make confession⁵³ and recite the psalm *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, with its antiphon *Ego dormivi*. The priest then takes the Host from the pyx and exposes it for the adoration of the congregation gathered before the *sepulchrum*. Replacing the Host in the pyx, the priest carries it in procession to the choir during the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae*,

⁵² In the *Depositio* in Add. MS 23922 the words *uadunt cum Cruce ad locum Sepulchri* raise a difficulty. They seem to indicate that the object buried was not the Host but the Cross, whereas the other Strassburg documents mention only the Host. The *Cruce* of the passage quoted may be merely a *processional* cross.

⁵³ The liturgical text for the confession is more fully indicated in the *Elevatio* from the print of 1590.

and eventually exposes it to the congregation, both at the main altar and at the altar of St. Laurence.

We cannot assert that the treatment of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell in this version is notably developed. The antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* presents the theme in vivid form, but the possibilities of the theme in the way of dialogue are approached only in certain more highly developed versions to be examined in later divisions of the present study.⁵⁴

Waiving for the present, then, a further consideration of the *Decensus*, we come to a group of texts which are notable especially from the fact that the versions of the *Elevatio* are found in close combination with versions of the *Visitatio*. This phenomenon is clearly approached in the use of the cathedral of Parma. From this church we have particularly full *ordines*, of the year 1417, describing all the ceremonials of the *sepulchrum*. In the first place, the reservation, on Holy Thursday, of a Host for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* and of one for the *Depositio* is provided for as follows:

< IN COENA DOMINI >

ET REDIT CLERUS AD EPISCOPUM, QUI MISSAM PERFICIAT, RESERVATIS DUABUS HOSTIIS CONSECRATIS, QUAE, FINITA MISSA, IN SACRARIO REVERENTER INCLUDANTUR.⁵⁵

The *Depositio* occurs immediately after Mass of Good Friday, according to the following *ordo*:

< DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ >⁵⁶

FINITA DICTA MISSA, DESCENDANT DOMINUS EPISCOPUS CUM CANONICIS ET TOTO CLERO AD CAPPELLAM SANCTAE AGATHAE, ET CORPUS CHRISTI QUOD EST IBI RECONDITUM CUM EA PROCESSIONE MODO ET FORMA ET SOLEMNITATE QUIBUS PORTATUM FUIT, INDE DEVOTE ACCIPIATUR, ET REPORTETUR, ET IN PARADISO POST ALTARE MAIUS REVERENTER RECONDATUR, UT IN SEPULCRO, IBI DIMISSO LUMINE COPIOSE PER TOTAM NOCTEM DURATURO, CLERICIS CANTANTIBUS RE-SPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino,

⁵⁴ See especially pp. 90-91, 111-118.

⁵⁵ *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis e vetustioribus excerptum reformatum A. 1417*, edited by L. Barbieri, Parma, 1866, p. 134. The passage quoted is preceded immediately by an *ordo* for the reservation of the Chrism.

⁵⁶ Barbieri, pp. 140-141.

ET CETERA. QUO FINITO, DICUNTUR VESPERÆ⁵⁷ ANTE OSTIUM PARADISI⁵⁸ A DOMINO EPISCOPO ET CLERICIS SUIS GENUFLEXIS, SUBMISSIS VOCIBUS; ET IPSIS FINITIS, DENUDATUR ALTARE.

From this text it appears that the Host to be "buried" has been reserved in a chapel of the cathedral, from which it is carried, in a procession of the bishop and clergy, to a structure called *Paradisus* situated behind the main altar. Here the Host is deposited during the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. Vespers are then said before the door of the *Paradisus*, and lights are kept burning during the night.

The ceremony of the *Elevatio* is known to us only through a reference in the following text of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*:⁵⁹

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁶⁰

IN MATUTINO PASCHAE, HORA QUASI NONA NOCTIS PULSETUR BAIONUS⁶¹ SOLEMNITER CUM ALIIS; ORNETUR ALTARE SOLEMNIUS QUAM ORNARI POSSIT; ET OMNIA LUMINARIA ECCLESIAE, UT IN NATIVITATE, ACCENDANTUR. ANTE INCHOATIONEM MATUTINI DUO GUARDACHORII⁶² ET DUO CANTORES CUM PIVIALIBUS SEPULCRUM DOMINI REVERENTER INTRANT CUM THURIBULIS ET INCENSO, CEREIS ANTE SEPULCRI OSTIUM DUOBUS POSITIS. ET INCENSANTES SEPULCRUM⁶³ QUÆRUNT DE CORPORE CHRISTI, QUOD ANTE HUNC ACTUM SACRISTA PERVIGIL INDE ABSTULISSE DEBUI, ET IN SACRARIO DEPUTATO REVERENTER RECONDIDISSE, ET PALPANT LINTEAMINA MUNDA, QUIBUS ID ERAT INVOLUTUM. QUOD NON INVENIENTES, REVERTUNTUR AD OSTIUM SEPULCRI, FORIS TAMEN NON EUNTES, SED VERSUS ALTARE MAIUS IUXTA QUOD SINT ALIQUI CLERICI DICENTES:

Quem quaeritis?

QUI CLERICI RESPONDENTES DICANT:

⁵⁷ Vesperæ] Vesperi (Barbieri).

⁵⁸ The editor provides the following foot-note: Questo particolare non lascia dubbio che l'edificio, chiamato *Paradisus*, fosse chiuso; e così appunto esser dovea, vi grazia del nome attribuitogli, da poi ch' esso tanto vale quanto *hortus conclusus* (v. Isid. *Orig.* xiv, III, 1, 3).

⁵⁹ From Barbieri this text has been published by A. D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Vol. I, Turin, 1891, pp. 30-31; and from D'Ancona, by Lange, p. 28.

⁶⁰ Barbieri, pp. 147-149.

⁶¹ *Baionus* is the name of a large bell—*campana grossa*. See Barbieri, p. 10.

⁶² This word is explained by the following passage (Barbieri, p. 66): In Guardachoratus officio quatuor sint clerici instituti, qui moribus sint et discretionem approbati, et cantus perfectione eruditi . . . istorum quatuor Guardachoriorum officio . . . totus chorus ecclesiae sublevatur atque regitur, et regi debet.

⁶³ Sepulcrum] sepulcro (Barbieri).

Iesum Nazarenum.

QUIBUS PRIMI RESPONDEANT:

Non est hic; surrexit sicut dixit,

ET CETERA. POSTEA EGREDIUNTUR SEPULCRUM ISTI QUATUOR, PRAEVIIS DICTIS CEREIS, ET DICUNT VERSUS POPULUM ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Christus; iam non moritur.

QUA FINITA MAIOR ILLORUM QUATUOR AD EPISCOPUM ACCEDIT SINE LUMINE, ET EI DICIT PLANE:

Surrexit Dominus,

ET OSCULATUR EUM. ET EPISCOPUS DICIT:

Deo gratias.

QUI EPISCOPUS ALTA VOCE DEINDE DICIT:

Te deum laudamus,

ET INCENSAT ALTARE, DICTIS DUPLERIIS ARDENTIBUS; ET DUM DICITUR *Te Deum laudamus*, ILLE QUI NUNTIAVIT DOMINO EPISCOPO CHRISTUM RESURREXISSE, SIMILITER NUNTIIET DOMINIS CANONICIS. FINITO *Te Deum laudamus* INCIPIT DOMINUS EPISCOPUS: Domine, labia mea aperies.⁶⁴

Concerning the *Elevatio* itself we have here merely a brief rubric directing the sacristan to remove the Host from the *sepulchrum* well before the beginning of Matins, and to secrete it reverently in the sacristy. As a whole, then, the text before us describes not the *Elevatio*, but the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which seems to have been transferred, along with the *Te Deum*, from its usual place at the end of the Matins to the place preceding Matins usually occupied by the *Elevatio*. This version of the *Visitatio* is noteworthy in that those approaching the *sepulchrum* (representing, but not necessarily *impersonating*, the Maries) actually enter the *sepulchrum* in search of the *Corpus Christi*, and touch the *lintheamina*, before they are challenged by the familiar interrogation *Quem quaeritis*. This bit of action may show the influence of the *Elevatio*, as may also the kiss bestowed upon the bishop by one of those who take part in the dialogue.⁶⁵

Conditions somewhat similar to those at Parma are found in connection with the cathedral of Soissons, the *ordinaria* of which provide, in the first place, for the consecration on Holy Thursday of three Hosts as follows:

< IN CENA DOMINI >

SCIENDUM AUTEM QUOD DIE ISTA TRES HOSTIE PROPONANTUR IN ALTARI:
I^a PRO PRESENTI MISSA; II^a PRO CRASTINA; III^a RESERVETUR USQUE AD DIEM

⁶⁴ With this versicle begins Matins.

⁶⁵ Concerning the *Pax* in certain versions of the *Elevatio* see below, pp. 65-67, 88, 89, 97, 109.

RESURRECTIONIS. QUE DEFERANTUR A DIACONO AD SACRARIUM IN UASCULO QUOD DEPENDET SUPER ALTARE, UT IBI RESERVENTUR, CEREI ANTE ACCENSO.⁶⁶

It will be observed that the third Host is reserved, not for burial in the *sepulchrum* on Good Friday, but for some ceremonial, not yet specified, on Easter. The object placed in the *sepulchrum* on Good Friday is not the Host, but the Gospel-book, as we learn from the following rubric:

FINITO EVANGELIO SUBDIACONUS ACCIPIAT ILLUD ET QUASI IN OCCULTO SUB INFULA SUA VELUT IN SINU SUO DEFERAT AD SEPULCHRUM, CLERICULO CUM THURE PRECEDENTE; IMPOSITOQUE SUPER ALTARE QUOD EST IN SEPULCHRO, AMBO REVERTANTUR.⁶⁷

The *ordo* of Good Friday provides in no way for a burial of a Host.

A special form of the *Elevatio* appears in the *ordo* for Easter Matins.⁶⁸

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁶⁹

SUMMO DILUCULO PULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA; DEIN BINA ET BINA. AD ULTIMUM UERO TUM SIMUL ITERUM PULSENTUR. PAUIMENTUM INTEREA TOTIUS PRESBYTERII ET CHORI EDERA ET ALIJS VIRIDIBUS FOLIJS STERNATUR. ECCLESIA PRETEREA, CEREIS ACCENSIS, A CAPITIS USQUE AD PEDES PER CIRCUITUM UESTIATUR. ALTARE SACROSANCTUM AMPLIFICATO NUMERO CEREORUM LUMINE CIRCUMDETUR. NUMERUS UERO CEREORUM CIRCA ALTARE ET ANTE SIT LXXXX⁷⁰, ET UNUS FUNICULUS INSUPER A CAPITIS USQUE AD PEDES PRETENDATUR; IN QUO CIRCULUS QUIDAM FERREUS HABENS VII CEREOS SUPER OSTIUM SEPULCHRI IN ALTUM DEPENDEAT. CIRCULUS AUTEM ISTE QUI ET STELLA A NOBIS NUNCUPATUR, UERUM LUCIFERUM, QUI MANE RESURREXIT, DESIGNAT. ADHUC AUTEM X CEREI AD CRUCIFIXUM ACCENDANTUR. IN INITIO UERO OMNIUM ISTORUM CUNCTUS⁷⁰ CLERICUS DEFERAT CUM SUMMO HONORE AD SEPULCHRUM IN SUPERPELLICIO CORPUS DOMINICUM IN UASCULO A DIE CENE RESERVATUM, PONENS ILLUD SUPER ALTARE.

HIS PERACTIS, DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS ANTIQUIORIBUS AC DUOBUS DIACONIS IN CHORO SEDENTIBUS CUM CAPIS DE PALLIO, PONTIFEX IN SEDE SUA CUM CAPA DE PALLIO MITRATUS STANS INCIPIT:

⁶⁶ *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, pp. 68–69. The manuscript (saec. xii–xiii) is described on pp. vii–x.

⁶⁷ *Rituale . . . ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, p. 86.

⁶⁸ This *ordo* is printed by Martène (pp. 496–498) from a “*Rituale vetus tempore Nivelonis II episcopi scriptum*” (i.e., 13th century). From Martène, Lange (p. 26) reprints, with very unfortunate omissions. Martène’s text and that now reprinted from the edition of 1856 differ only in unimportant details.

⁶⁹ *Rituale . . . ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, pp. 108–110.

⁷⁰ cunctus] cunctos (*Rituale*).

Domine, labia mea aperies. Deus in adiutorium.

Quo⁷¹ FINITO, CUM Gloria, ITERUM INCIPIANT IPSUM CANTOR ET SUCCENTOR
R<ESPONSORIUM>: Dum transisset.

TUNC EAT PROCESSIO AD SEPULCHRUM SIC. PUERI PRIMUM FERENTES TINTINABULA, ALIJ CUM UEXILLIS. DEIN CANDELABRA, THURIBULA, CRUCES QUATUOR. SUBDIACONUS IN ALBIS HOS SEQUATUR. DUO PRESBYTERI CUM CAPIS DE PALLIO, CETERI QUOQUE IN ORDINE SUO. AD ULTIMUM EPISCOPUS CUM BACULO PASTORALI ET MITRA ET CAPA DE PALLIO, CUM IPSO UERO CAPELLANUS. ET CUM PERVENTUM FUERIT AD SEPULCHRUM, INUENIANTUR IBI PREPARATI DUO DIACONES ALBIS SIMPLICIBUS, CAPITIBUS AMICTIS COOPTIS, NIVEIS DALMATICIS SUPERINDUTJ. HIJ IN SIMILITUDINEM ANGELORUM AD FENESTRAM STANTES SEPULCHRI, UNUS AD DEXTERAM, ALIUS AD SINISTRAM, UOCE HUMILIMA ET CAPITIBUS INCLINATIS UERSISQUE AD SEPULCHRUM:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole?

DUO PRESBYTERI PREDICTI CUM CAPIS DE PALLIO IN LOCO MARIARUM:

Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o Celicole,

DUO DIACONI ANGELI:

Non est hic; surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit.

PRESBYTERI QUI ET MARIE DICUNTUR UOCE ALTIORI RESPONDEANT:

Alleluya, surrexit Dominus hodie, resurrexit leo fortis, Xpistus filius Dei; Deo gracias dicite eya.

TUNC CAPELLANUS DE SEPULCHRO AB INTUS IN SUPERPELLICIO STANS PORRIGAT DIACONIS UASCULUM CUM CORPORE DOMINICO, ET STATIM PULSENTUR TINTINNABULA ET OMNIA SIGNA ECCLESIE. CANTOR AUTEM INCIPIAT:

Xpistus resurgens<ex mortuis iam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur, alleluia, alleluia.>⁷²

TUNC EXTENDAT UELUM QUODDAM SUPER CORPUS DOMINICUM A SUBDIACONIS QUATUOR; CEREI QUOQUE CUM UEXILLIS, THURIBULIS, ET CRUCIBUS PRECEDANT. PRESBYTERI NEMPE PREDICTI, ACCEPTIS THURIBUS, CONDUCANT ILLUD SEMPER INCENSANTES, UNUS A DEXTERIS ET ALIUS A SINISTRIS, STELLA PREDICTA SEMPER DUCE. QUO DEPORTATO A DIACONIS HONORIFICE ET SUPER ALTARE OBLATO, FERRA CIRCA ALTARE CLAUDATUR; FINITAQUE ANTIPHONA SUPERIORI, Xpistus resurgens, EPISCOPUS IN SEDE SUA STANS IUSSU CANTORIS INCIPIAT:

Te Deum laudamus.

QUI DUM CANTATUR A CHORO, DUO MAIORA SIGNA TANTUMMODO PULSENTUR. INTEREA VEXILLE, CRUCES, CEREI, THURIBULA CUM TINTINNABULIS SONANTIBUS ANTE ALTARE MORENTUR.

FINITO Te Deum, ITERUM OMNIA SIGNA PULSENTUR. INCENSUM QUOQUE ILLUD QUOD A PRESBYTERIS DOMINICO CORPORI OFFERTUR, AB IPSIS EPISCOPO,

⁷¹ Here I omit the usual liturgical routine of the Roman type of Easter Matins. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIV (1909), p. 310, note 2.

⁷² This refers to the third responsory of Matins.

⁷³ Antiphon at the *Communio* of the Mass of Wednesday in Easter Week. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 679.

CANTORI, ET SUCCENTORI, ET OMNIBUS PRESBYTERIS IN CHORO DEFERTUR.
DEIN A CLERICULIS CETERIS DEPORTETUR.

The ceremonial here described begins early on Easter morning, before Matins. The choir is strewn with green branches, the altar and church are profusely lighted, a crown of seven candles is suspended over the door of the *sepulchrum*, and ten candles are lighted at the Crucifix.⁷⁴ Meanwhile the Host reserved from Holy Thursday is for the first time brought to the *sepulchrum* and placed upon the altar.⁷⁵ In so far as this act represents a *Depositio*, it is obviously inappropriate to Easter morning.

After the third responsory of Matins of the usual Roman type⁷⁶ occurs an office in which the *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* are combined. When the procession reaches the *sepulchrum*, two deacons in appropriate vestments, representing angels, utter the angelic challenge *Quem quaeritis*, and continue the familiar dialogue with two priests vested in copes. Then occurs the *Elevatio*. A chaplain,—apparently from within the *sepulchrum*,—hands to the deacons (*angeli*) the Host while the choir sings the antiphon *Christus resurgens*. After the Host has been deposited upon the main altar within the choir, and after the iron rail about the altar has been closed, the *Te Deum* is sung. During the singing of the *Te Deum* the bells are sounded, and the Host and altar are censed.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Possibly this crucifix is located at the door between choir and nave.

⁷⁵ As to the location of this altar with respect to the *sepulchrum*, I am uncertain. Since the *sepulchrum* seems to be capacious enough to allow the entrance of a *capellanus*, the structure may take the form of a chapel, with an altar within.

⁷⁶ See the note to the text above.

⁷⁷ For its information concerning the symbolic use of incense in Easter Matins I quote from the Soissons *Rituale* (pp. 110–111) a passage that immediately follows the text of the *Visitatio* printed above:

Notandum uero quod ad similitudinem trium Mariarum, incensum hodie ad Sepulchrum tantum defertur in initio lectionum sic: Incepto Euangelio, Decanus et Ebdomadarius exeant de Sacratio cum Capis de pallio, Clericulis precedentibus cum Thuribulis et igne; presententque se Episcopo in igne mittentes incensum, Episcopo dante benedictionem. Quo facto, eant simul ad altare. Episcopus autem accipiens Thuribulum, offerat incensum sacrosancto altari et Decanus cum illo. Interea Clericuli, elevatis Cereis suis, teneant illos ante altare. Quo facto, Episcopo in sede sua regresso, offerant incensum Decanus et Ebdomadarius. Postea cum Cereis eant ad Sepulchrum illud offerre,

In this version from Soissons we encounter for the first time an intimate combination of *Visitatio* and *Elevatio*; and we must observe at once that the combination is not entirely successful from the point of view of dramatic sequence. Nothing is clearer logically than that the *Elevatio* should *precede* the *Visitatio*. The *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, with its *Non est hic*, obviously implies an empty *sepulchrum*. In the present version, however, the implication is false, for the *Corpus Dominicum* is not removed from the sepulchre until *after* the delivery of dialogue mentioned.

In connection with this dialogue it is important to observe also that whatever of impersonation is present in the version before us attaches itself to the *Visitatio* element and not to the *Elevatio*. In the *Elevatio* is found no such rubric as that prescribing the impersonation of the angels at the supposedly empty tomb: *Duo Diacones albis simplicibus, capitibus amictis coopertis, niueis dalmaticis superinduti . . . in similitudinem angelorum*.⁷⁸

Similar to this version from Soissons, in some respects, is the following, from the cathedral of Laon:⁷⁹

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁸⁰

IN PASCHA AD MATUTINAS DUE COMPANE INSIMUL PULSANTUR; SEX CEREI JUXTA MAGNUM CEREUM ANTE ALTARE PONUNTUR. DUM CAMPANE PULSANTUR, PROCESSIO ANTE ALTARE IN HUNC MODUM ORDINATA VADIT AD SEPULCHRUM. PRECEDUNT CLERICULI CUM CEREIS, DUO CUM THURIBULIS, DUO DIACONI, ALII DUO CANTATURI DICANT NUNC, CANTOR, ET SUCCENTOR, OMNES ISTI ALBIS CAPIS INDUTI. ALII SEQUUNTUR IN ORDINE, UNUSQUISQUE CEREUM ACCENSUM DEFERENS. PREDICTI VERO DIACONI AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI VENIENTES INCIPIUNT:

Ardens est <cor meum, desidero videre Dominum meum; quaero et non invenio ubi posuerunt eum, alleluia.>⁸¹

Clerico custode cum Capa de pallio acerram cum incenso perferente. Quo facto, reuersi in Chorum, Cantori et Succentori, ceterisque in ordine suo defertur. Processione presenti peracta, uicem secundam impleuimus, in fine Matutinarum, Tertiam exsoluimus. V. post *Te Deum*. Episcopus. *Surrexit Dominus uere*. Chorus. *Et apparuit Symoni. Alleluia*.

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 128-129.

⁷⁹ U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon* (Bibliothèque Liturgique, VI), Paris, 1897, pp. 118-119, from Laon MS 215 of the period 1173-1249. From Laon we have no text of a *Depositio*.

⁸⁰ Chevalier, pp. 118-119.

⁸¹ Antiphon of Easter season. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 775.

CLERICULUS IN SEPULCHRO:

Quem queritis.

DIACONI:

Jhesum Nazarenum.

CLERICULUS:

Non est hic.

QUO FINITO SACERDOS ALBA CASULA VESTITUS, PORTANS CALICEM CUM CORPORE XPISTI, EGREDIENS DE SEPULCHRO REPPERIT ANTE OSTIUM QUATUOR CLERICULOS PALLIUM SUPER BACULOS TOLLENTES; ET ILLO PROTECTUS INCEDIT ANTE PROCESSIONEM, PRECEDENTIBUS CLERICULIS CUM CE REIS, ASTANTIBUS ALIIS DUOBUS JUXTA IPSUM CUM THURIBULIS. TUNC DIACONI PREDICTI DICUNT: Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

POST HEC CANTOR ET SUCCENTOR INCIPIUNT ILLAM PARTEM ANTIPHONÆ:

Cum rex glorie Xpistus.⁸² Advenisti desiderabilis.

ET SIC CANTANDO PROCEDUNT OMNES IN MEDIO ECCLESIE ANTE CRUCIFIXUM.

POST ANTIPHONAM:

Christus resurgens <ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur, quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, alleluia, alleluia>.

DUO CANONICI CUM CAPIS VERSUM:

Dicant nunc <Judæi quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdidit regem ad lapidis positionem, quare non servabant petram justiciæ; aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent, nobiscum dicentes alleluia, alleluia.>

POST V<ERSUM>PROCESSIO, CANTANDO Quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, INTRAT CHORUM. SACERDOS CALICEM SUPER ALTARE DEPOSIT. INTERIM CAMPANE INSIMUL PULSANTUR.⁸³

This ceremonial occurs before Matins. The procession sets out from the main altar, and when it reaches the door of the *sepulchrum*, two deacons in the procession sing the antiphon *Ardens est*. A cleric within the *sepulchrum* now sings the interrogation *Quem quaeritis*, and continues the familiar dialogue with the two deacons of the procession. Then a priest issues from the sepulchre carrying a chalice containing the Host,⁸⁴ which is carried in procession to a place before the Crucifix,⁸⁵ appropriate persons meanwhile singing *Surrexit Dominus* and *Cum rex gloriæ*. At the Crucifix is sung the antiphon *Christus resurgens*, after which the priest places the chalice upon the main altar.

⁸² Xpistus] Xpiste (Chevalier).

⁸³ Matins follows immediately.

⁸⁴ Such is a fair, but not an inevitable, interpretation of the rubric *portans calicem cum Corpore Christi*. See above, pp. 14, 16.

⁸⁵ Possibly this Crucifix is at the entrance to the choir from the nave.

It will be observed that in the combining of *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* this version is not essentially different from that of Soissons. Once more the *Visitatio* inappropriately precedes the *Elevatio*.

Another text of this office from Laon appears as follows:⁸⁶

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁸⁷

IN DIE PASCHÆ AD MATUTINUM DUÆ MAGNÆ CAMPANÆ DE MIRACULIS INSIMUL PULSANTUR. PROCESSIO VADIT AD SEPULCRUM ORDINATA IN MODUM QUI SEQUITUR. PRIMO PRÆCEDIT CLERICULUS AQUAM BENEDICTAM DEFERENS; HUNC SEQUUNTUR DUO CLERICULI FERENTES INSIGNIA, DUO ALII CLERICULI FERENTES CEREOS, DUO ALII CLERICULI CAPPIS SERICIS INDUTI FERENTES DUAS CRUCES AUREAS; HOS SEQUUNTUR CLERICULI. DEINDE CANTOR & SUCCENTOR CAPPIS SERICIS INDUTI, PORTANTES BACULOS DEARGENTATOS IN MANIBUS. DEINDE DUO DIACONI SIMILITER CAPPIS SERICIS INDUTI, & QUATUOR SUBDIACONI CANONICI ALBIS TUNICIS INDUTI, PALLIUM SUPRA BRACHIUM TENENTES. HOS SEQUUNTUR ALII COMBINATI, UNUSQUISQUE CEREUM ACCENSUM DEFERENS. PRÆDICTI, VERO DIACONI AD OSTIUM SEPULCRI VENIENTES INCIPIUNT:

Ardens est.

CLERICULUS STANS IN SEPULCRO RESPONDET:

Quem quaeritis?

DIACONI:

Jesum Nazarenum.

CLERICULUS:

Non est hic.

POSTEA CANTOR & SUCCENTOR INCIPIUNT:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

DEINDE PROSAM:⁸⁸

Victimæ paschali laudes.

ET SIC CANTANDO PROCEDUNT ANTE CRUCIFIXUM IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE, SACERDOS ALBA CASULA VESTITUS, PORTANS CALICEM CUM CORPORE CHRISTI, EGREDIENS DE SEPULCRO REPERIT ANTE OSTIUM QUATUOR SUBDIACONOS, ALBIS TUNICIS INDUTOS, PALLIUM SUPER BACULUM TOLLENTES, & ILLO PROTECTUS INCEDIT IN FINE PROCESSIONIS, PRÆCEDENTIBUS DUOBUS CLERICULIS CUM CEREIS, & ALIIS DUOBUS JUXTA IPSUM CUM THURIBULIS. DUM AUTEM PROCESSIO PERVENERIT IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE CANTOR & SUCCENTOR INCIPIUNT R<ESPONSORIUM>:

Christus resurgens.

⁸⁶ Martène, pp. 478–479, from a “vetus ordinarium optimæ notæ, ante annos 400 scriptum.” We may date this manuscript, then, about the year 1300. It may be observed that Martène’s text does not differ substantially from the text indicated by the erasures and marginal entries in Laon MS 215 used by Chevalier. See Chevalier, p. 118. A mutilated reprint of Martène’s text is given by Lange, p. 30.

⁸⁷ Martène, pp. 478–479.

⁸⁸ prosam] psal. (Martène).

DUO DIACONI CANTANT V<ERSUM>:

Dicant nunc.

QUO CANTATO PROCESSIO INTRAT CHORUM CANTANDO:

Quod enim vivit.

SACERDOS CALICEM SUPER ALTARE DEPOSIT. INTERIM CAMPANÆ SIMUL PULSANTUR. EPISCOPUS STANS IN CATHEDRA MITRA & CAPPA PRÆPARATUS INCIPIT: Domine, labia mea aperies.⁸⁹

This text differs from the preceding one only in details, such as a more extended *ordo* for the procession to the *sepulchrum* and the substitution of the sequence *Victimæ paschali* for the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ*.

For our knowledge of the ceremonial of the *sepulchrum* at Laon, however, we are not confined to these texts from the *ordinaria*. This cathedral was fortunate in having as dean, about the middle of the seventeenth century, Antoine Bellotte, a liturgiologist of the first order.⁹⁰ In his monumental volume *Ritus Ecclesiæ Laudunensis*⁹¹ this author describes the dramatic office of Easter morning as follows:⁹²

⁸⁹ With this formula Matins begins.

⁹⁰ He was dean from 1650-1662. See Chevalier, pp. vii-viii.

⁹¹ Paris, 1652.

⁹² Bellotte, pp. 215-217. The same author provides also (p. 819) a shorter description of this office as follows:

Vtrumque solet Ecclesia Laudunensis obire, dum summo mane paulo post medium noctis pulsantur in ea campanæ pro singulari festiæ exultationis signaculo; & circa horam diluculi, conueniunt omnes in Ecclesiam candido apparatu, quibus statim cerei diuiduntur, quibuscum procedunt ad altare sepulcri, vbi fores occlusæ, & sanctissimum Corporis, & Sanguinis Dominici sacramentum in altari repositum, locum monumenti referunt. Et dum ibidem celebratur statio, Puer Choralis adheret altari agens personam Angeli sedentis in sepulchro, dicens: *Quem queritis?* Respondentibus autem duobus Diaconis: *Iesum Nazarenum*, ipsemet Puer symphoniacus subjungit: *Non est hic*. Mox Cantor & Succentor cappis sericis & baculis choralibus accincti incipiunt: *Surrexit Dominus vere, etc.*, & statim præ lætitia in jubilo erumpentes intonant hymnum *Victimæ Paschali laudes immolant Christiani*; & sine mora aperiuntur fores sepulcri, e quibus Christus egreditur quippe conditus in sepulcro, cum sub mortis imperio captius ess<e> videretur, quasi præruptis inferni tepagulis, liber ad vitam rediit, iuxta illud quod ab Ecclesia canitur, *Hodie portas mortis & seras pariter Saluator noster dirupit*. Tandem procedunt omnes per circuitum, & mediam nauim Ecclesiæ ad Crucifixum cum cereis ardentibus in quibus lux est vitæ, & resurrectionis symbolum, de quo in Pentecostario Graecorum: *Prodeamus cum lampadibus obuiam Christo ex monumento prodeuntis, tanquam sponso, & simul cum ordinibus Angelorum hac solemnitate latantibus festum agamus*.

Inter antiquissimas Ecclesiæ Christianæ consuetudines annumeratur processio, quæ solemnî ritu, quotannis celebratur in Dominica Resurrectionis ante Matutinum, quo tam salutaris mysterij gaudium, aliquo lætitiæ signo, fidelibus populis nuntietur. Hinc est, quod in Ecclesia Laudunensi summo mane pulsantur campanæ hora post mediam noctem secunda in signum festivæ exultationis, priusquam detur signum Matutini. Quo tempore custos Sacrarîj, vel alius Sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, superpellicio & stola paratus, accedit ad locum *Pastophorij*⁹⁹ præeuntibus duobus clericulis cum cereis ardentibus, & inde sanctissimum Sacramentum reuerenter & cum debitis genuflexionibus extrahit, vbi pridie fuerat ritu præscripto collocatum; ipsumque ambabus manibus tenens ob oculos eleuatum, deferat super Altare Sepulchri, vndique cereorum sufficienti numero collustratum, vt locus lucidior appareat, & nox ipsa quasi dies illuminetur; nullusque Sæcularium illuc accedit, nec vllus alius præter Clericos qui dicti Sepulchri ritibus & ceremonijs inseruire debent, ac qui proinde fuerint choralî veste parati.

Hora vero quarta matutina conueniunt in Ecclesiam omnes de Clero, Episcopus, vel Decanus, aut Sacerdos Hebdomadarius in Sacrarium, cum ijs qui futuræ processioni debent inseruire. Canonici vero Chorum intrant, in albis, hoc est, superpelliceis, armilauzis parati, vbi stant in subsellijs, vsque ad initium præfate processionis. Celebrans & ministri parantur vestimentis albi coloris, ordini suo congruentibus; vbi Celebrans & duo ex senioribus Sacerdotibus Canonicis induunt planetam Subdiaconi vero pallium; seu baldachinum delaturi tunicas sine manipulis. Mox erogantur cerei singulis Canoncis & alijs de gremio Ecclesiæ per Custodes Laicos, tam in Choro, quam in Sacrarîo, dignioribus primo, subinde junioribus per ordinem, eodem ritu quo in festo, seu processione Purificationis Beate Mariæ, quos singuli deferre debent in honorem sanctissimi Sacramenti toto tempore processionis.

His vt supra dispositis, accenduntur prædicti cerei per ministros ecclesiæ, qui candelam accendunt primi cuiusque ordinis ab vtraque parte Chori, vt cæteri deinde sibi mutuo candelas suas accendant; & dato signo procedendi, duo Diaconi pluuiialibus induti procedunt de Sacrarîo in Chorum, cum alijs ministris, hoc ordine. Præcedunt duo Acolythi deferentes candelabra cum cereis accensis, tum duo Clericuli, qui Cruces aureas deferunt processionales. Has sequuntur duo prædicti Diaconi pluuiialibus induti; deinde Præcentores cappis & baculis choralibus accincti; postremo quatuor Subdiaconi tunicis albi coloris induti, qui hastas pallij seu baldachini deferre debent, omnes ex ordine Canonicorum. A dextris & a sinistris eorum incedunt ab vtraque parte omnes de choro, primo Pueri chorales, deinde Mansionarij & Capellani; postea Canonici secundum ordinem antiquitatis vel dignitatis; ita tamen, vt discedentes a subsellijs dexteræ partis, migrent in sinistram; & qui stant a sinistra transeant ad dexteram, suas quinque candelas ita deferentes propriis manibus, vt qui procedunt a dextris, dextra; qui vero a sinistris, sinistra deferant paululum ad extra inclinatæ.

Probably the most significant aspect of this passage is the symbolizing of the opening of the *sepulchrum* as the Harrowing of Hell.

⁹⁹ The *pastophorium* is some sort of sacristy, which, as we learn below, is on the left side of the choir.

Proceditur autem per speciosam portam chori, recta per mediam nauim versus Sepulchrum, quo peruenientes qui deferunt baldachinum, seu pallium, consistunt ante ostium præfati Sepulchri, facie versa ad Altare, in quo existit sanctissimum Sacramentum, stantibus in eadem regione seu præinctu Ecclesie, omnibus de choro vultibus ad inuicem conuersis dum Celebrans transit de Sacrario in Sepulchrum per aditum secretiorem, a duobus prædictis senioribus Canonicis comitatus qui velum in modum gremialis ipsum deferunt, sequentibus eos duobus Thuriferariis, cum thuribulis igne tantum refertis. Quo cum perueniunt, Celebrans statim genuflectit in infimo gradu Altaris ante sanctissimum Sacramentum, cæteris post eum in plano genuflexis, vbi aliquantulum orant dum prædicti duo Diaconi, stantes ad ostium Sepulchri, cantant insimul, *Ardens est*. Quo decantato Clericulus iuxta dictum Sepulchrum stans in abscondito, respondet eodem tono, *Quem quaeritis*. Tum duo supradicti Diaconi, iterum cantant *Iesum Nazaranum*; ad quos idem Clericulus dicit vt supra cantando, *Non est hic*. Mox Præcentores incipiunt, *Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia*. Deinde sequitur immediate Prosa *Victimæ Paschali laudes*, quam prædicti Præcentores similiter incipiunt. Tunc Celebrans surgit, curatque incensum imponi in thuribulum; deinde genuflexus ad oram suppedanei, triplici ductu incensat sanctissimum Sacramentum cum debitis inclinationibus; & reddito thuribulo, accedit ad Altare, vbi iterata genuflexione sumit reuerenter sanctissimum Sacramentum, ambabus manibus tenens ante faciem eleuatum.

Sumpto vt supra sanctissimo Sacramento, Celebrans descendit in planum Sepulchri, & inde incipit procedere pallio feu baldachino protectus, præcedentibus eum prædictis duobus senioribus Canonicis prædictum velum hinc & inde ferentibus. Mox duo Thuriferarij cum thuribulis igne & incenso refertis, recessim incedentes, incensant continuo sanctissimum Sacramentum, ac eodem tempore incedunt omnes de Clero nudo capite, æquali passu, parem inter se mutuo seruantes distantiam, cauentes præcipue ne vltimi, plus justo distent a sanctissimo Sacramento. Proceditur autem circumcirca ecclesiam a prædicto loco Sepulchri vsque ad maiorem porticum versus Occidentem, & ab eo per mediam nauim, in qua sistit processio per modum stationis ante Crucifixum, vbi Præcentores incipiunt responsorium *Christus resurgens*; cujus versum cantant duo prædicti Diaconi pluuiialibus induti, cum quibus omnes de Choro genuflectunt sanctissimo Sacramento ad ipsum conuersi, ad hæc verba, aut *Resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes*.

Sub finem prædictæ stationis, dum repetitur a choro pars prædicti Responsorij, processio intrat Chorum, vbi omnes a subselliis iterum genuflexione adorant sanctissimum Sacramentum eo tempore quo transit per medium Chori. Et cum Celebrans ascendit gradus Altaris, sistunt qui baldachinum seu pallium deferunt, et statim illud a medio collocant a latere iuxta Pastophorium a sinistra parte Presbyterij, donec officio completo remoueat per custodem sacrarij. Thuriferarij vero peruenientes ad infimum gradum Altaris, secedunt paululum ab utraque parte, viam præbentes Celebranti, qua per medium eorum transire possit, et tunc cessant a thurificatione, ac ibidem in plano genuflexi, cum prædictis duobus senioribus canonicis in infimo gradu altaris genuflectentibus, sanctissimum Sacramentum adorant. Celebrans interim ascendit ad altare, vbi stans conuertit se statim ad Chorum sanctissimum Sacramentum tenens,

vt prius, ante faciem eleuatum, omnesque simul cum eo benedicit, signum Crucis cum debita mora producens; attolit enim Sacramentum paulatim, vsque dum pars illa calicis quem ambabus manibus tenet respondeat oculis, ac eodem modo demittit infra pectus; deinde ad humerum sinistrum ducit, & ad dextrum reducit; iterumque ad pectus; et post breuem morulam versus cornu Euangelij conuertit se ad altare, nihil dicens, stantibus interim omnibus de Choro, qui a subsellijs suis summo silentio et profundissima inclinatione totius corporis sanctissimum Sacramentum adorant.

Circulo facto, Celebrans deponit SS. Sacramentum super altare conuertens imaginem Hostiæ ad Chorum, & facta genuflexione, descendit ad oram suppedanei, vbi genuflexus sumit thuribulum, in quod incensum curat imponi absque benedictione, quo triplici ductu incensat sanctissimum Sacramentum cum debitis inclinationibus; et reddito thuribulo, surgit omnibus etiam surgentibus; mox signans se in ore pollice dexteræ manus, relictis digitis extensis, alta voce Matutinum incipit dicens, *Domine labia mea aperies.*

Although Bellotte may have based this description upon the very text quoted above from an *ordinarium* of about the year 1200,²⁴ he adds, from authorities not specified, some information not available elsewhere. In the first place, he explains the presence of the Host in the *sepulchrum*. It appears that at two o'clock, before Matins, on Easter morning the Host is removed from the sacristy (*pastophorium*), in which it had been deposited on the preceding day, and is placed upon the brilliantly lighted altar of the *sepulchrum*. This act may be regarded as in some way a substitute for the *Depositio*,—a substitute similar to that employed in the cathedral of Soissons. Unlike the use of Soissons, however, the Laon ceremony separates the *Depositio* from the subsequent *Visitatio-Elevatio*, not by the singing of Matins, but only by a vacant interval of some hours. At Laon, in other words, the two ceremonials, the quasi-*Depositio* and the *Visitatio-Elevatio*, both occur before Matins. In liturgical content the dramatic office described by Bellotte is essentially similar to that reported by Martène. Bellotte, however, provides fuller ceremonial details for the procession and for the adoring and censuring of the Host at the main altar.

Although the ceremonials of Laon are highly elaborated, their elaboration is brilliantly exceeded in the dramatic observances from the famous *Liber Sacerdotalis* printed in 1523 under

²⁴ See above, pp. 49–50; Chevalier, p. xii.

the editorship of Alberto Castellani.⁹⁵ The *Depositio* from this book takes the following form:

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>⁹⁶

DE PROCESSIONES IN FERIA VI IN PARASCEUE AD
PONENDUM CORPUS DOMINI IN SEPULCHRO.

FERIA VI IN PARASCEUE POST OFFICIUM MISSE, VEL ETIAM POST PRANDIUM, ORDINATUR SOLENNIS SED LUGUBRIS PROCESSIO. PARATUR ENIM SACERDOS OMNIBUS PARAMENTIS ET PLUVIALI DESUPER CUM DIAcono ET SUBDIAcono cum DALMATICIS NIGRI COLORIS. PARANTUR ETIAM QUATUOR SACERDOTES, VEL DUO AD MINUS, INDUTI CAMISIIS NIGRIS cum AMICTU ET CINGULO EIUSDEM COLORIS; SI HABERI POSSUNT ALIOS, IN ALBIS PARANTUR ETIAM DUO ALII SACERDOTES, VEL UNUS TANTUM UBI PAUCI FUERINT SACERDOTES, cum AMICTU, ALBA, CINGULO, MANIPULO, ET STOLLA ET DUO THURIFERARII IN ALBIS. PREPARETUR ETIAM FERETRUM A QUATUOR PORTANDUM CUM SUPERIORI COOPERTURA IN MODUM SEMICIRCULI, ET COOPERIATUR ALIQUO PANNO NIGRO DE SERICO, SI HABERI POTERIT, IN QUO SACRAMENTUM DEPORTETUR. PARANTUR ETIAM LUMINARIA: SCILICET INTORTITIA ET CEREI AD<FOL. 263v> ILLUMINANDUM CORPUS CHRISTI. ET CONGREGATO POPULO, SACERDOS ACCIPIT REUERENTER SACRAMENTUM DE ALTARI ET TENENS ILLUD IN MANIBUS VERSUS AD POPULUM, OMNIBUS ALIIS GENUFLEXIS, IPSE STANS INCIPIT *responsorium*: Plange, CETERIS PROSEQUENTIBUS:

Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea; ululate, pastores, in cinere et cilicio; quia venit dies Domini magna et amara valde. DUO CLERICI CANTENT VERSUM:⁹⁷ Accingite vos, sacerdotes, et plangite; ministri altaris aspergite vos cinere. Quia.⁹⁸

COMPLETO *responsorio* cum VERSU ET REPLICA, DUO SACERDOTES APPARATI cum STOLLIS VT SUPRA STANTES ANTE SACRAMENTUM VERSIS VULTIBUS AD POPULUM CANTENT VERSUM: Popule me<us>, OMNIBUS ALIIS PRETER EUM QUI FACIT OFFICIUM GE<FOL. 264r>NUFLEXIS ET VERSIS VULTIBUS AD SACRAMENTUM:

⁹⁵ *Liber Sacerdotalis nuperrime ex libris Sancte Romane Ecclesie et quarundem aliarum ecclesiarum et ex antiquis codicibus . . . collectus*, Venetiis, 1523. Concerning the several editions of this work and its liturgical history see R. Dörner, *Die Auferstehungsfeier am Charsamstag nach dem Sacerdotalen Romanum*, in *Caecilien-Kalender*, Jahrgang X (1885), pp. 27-36. From an edition not precisely indicated, Dörner (pp. 32-35) reprints the *Elevatio-Visitatio*. He provides also (p. 32) a brief description of the *Depositio*. I reprint both texts from the edition of 1523. It should be observed that Castellani compiled this book from the uses of other localities than Rome, and that no edition of the work received complete papal approval (See Dörner, pp. 29-30). The texts here reprinted were communicated to me by my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey.

⁹⁶ *Liber Sacerdotalis*, 1523, fol. 263r-269v.

⁹⁷ versum] printed twice.

⁹⁸ Third responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

Popule meus, quid feci tibi, aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi.
quia eduxi te de terra Egypti, parasti crucem saluatori tuo.

DICTO VERSU PREDICTO, CHORUS GENUFLEXUS VT SUPRA CANTET:

Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, miserere nobis.

HOC DICTO, SACERDOS PONAT CORPUS Domini REUERENTER IN FERETRO QUOD PORTABUNT QUATUOR SACERDOTES PREDICTI, VEL DUO VBI PAUCITAS SACERDOTUM EST, IN ALBIS PARATI, CAPITIBUS AMICTO COOPERTIS, ET INCEPTO *responsorio*: Recessit pa<stor>, PROCEEDIT PROCESSIO ISTO ORDINE: PRIMO ACOLITI CUM CEREIS ACCENSIS ET CRUCE; POSTEA CLERICI, IUNIORIBUS *responsorio*; VLTIMO DUO SACERDOTES PARATI QUI CANTAVERUNT: Popule meus. POST IPSOS SEQUITUR FERETRUM CUM CORPORE Domini PORTATUM A QUATUOR VEL DUOBUS, VT SUPRA; ET SUPER SACRAMENTUM BALDACHINUM NIGRUM PORTETUR AB ALIQUIBUS PERSONIS MAGIS DIGNIS. EX LATERE SINT DUO ACOLITI CUM TURRIBULIS, QUI CONTINUO SACRAMENTUM INCENSABUNT CIRCUM; CIRCA SINT LUMINARIA ET INTORTITIA. POST FERETRUM SEQUITUR SACERDOS CUM PLUUIALI ET <fol. 264^v> DYACONUS ET SUBDIACONUS; ET VLTIMO SECULARES, MAIORIBUS PRECEDENTIBUS. PROCESSIONE ISTO MODO ORDINATA PROCEDUNT CUM DEUOTIONE QUOUSQUE DICTA FUERIT REPLICA POST *versum Responsorii*, QUEM *versum* DICENT DUO CLERICI, ET IDEM SERUETUR IN ALIIS *responsoriis* SEQUENTIBUS. *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor noster, fons aque viue ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est; nam et ille captus est qui captiuum tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Destruixit quidem claustra inferni et subuertit po<fol. 265^r> tentias dyaboli. Nam et.⁹⁹

FINITA REPLICA POST *versum*, FIRMETUR PROCESSIO, ET OMNES FLECTANT GENUA, EXCEPTIS ILLIS QUI PORTANT FERETRUM ET DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS QUI CANTAVERUNT Popule meus, QUI STANTES VERSIS VULTIBUS¹⁰⁰ AD POPULUM OMNIBUS ALIIS GENUFLEXIS HA<BEN>TIBUS VULTOS SUOS AD FERETRUM CONVERSOS CANTENT *versum*: Quia eduxi; ET HOC QUIDEM SERUETUR IN OMNIBUS SEQUENTIBUS STATIONIBUS. *Versus*:

Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis et manna cibaui te, et introduxi in terram satis optimam, parasti crucem saluatori tuo.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, VT SUPRA.

QUO DICTO, SURGANT OMNES ET INCIPIATUR *responsorium*: Ecce uidimus, ET PROCEDATUR AD SECUNDAM STATIONEM CANTANDO *responsorium* TOTUM USQUE IN FINEM CUM *versu* ET REPLICA. RESPONSORIUM:

Ecce vidimus eum non habentem speciem neque decorem; aspectus <fol. 265^v> eius in eo non est; hic peccata nostra portauit, et pro nobis dolens; ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, cuius liuore sanati sumus. *Versus*: Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portauit. Cuius.

⁹⁹ Fourth responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

¹⁰⁰ vultibus] vultibentibus (Print).

OMNIBUS GENUFLEXIS DUO SACERDOTES STANTES VT PRIUS¹⁰¹ DICANT VERSUM:

Quid ultra debui facere tibi, et non feci? Ego quidem plantaui te vineam meam spe <fol. 266^r> ciosissimam; et tu facta es mihi nimis amara; aceto namque sitim meam potasti, et lancea perforasti latus saluatori tuo.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, TOTUM DICITUR VT SUPRA.

SURGENTIBUS OMNIBUS INCIPIATUR *Responsorium*: Hierusalem, ET PROCEDATUR AD TERTIAM STATIONEM VT SUPRA.

Responsorium:

Hierusalem luge et exue te vestibus iocunditatis induere cinere et cilicio; quia in te occisus saluator Israel. *Versus*: Deduc quasi torrentem lachrymas per diem, et no <fol. 266^v> cte non taceat pupilla oculi tui. Quia in.¹⁰²

OMNIBUS UT PRIUS GENUFLEXIS, DUO SACERDOTES STANTES DICANT *versum*:

Ego propter te flagellavi Egyptum cum omnibus primogenitis suis; et tu me flagellatum ad crucifigendum cum latronibus tradidisti.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, VT SUPRA.

QUO DICTO OMNES SURGANT ET INCIPIATUR *Responsorium*; Calligauerunt, ET PROCEDAT PROCESSIO AD QUARTAM STATIONEM QUE FIAT CIRCA INGRESSUM ECCLESIE REDEUNDO ANTE SEPULCHRUM. *RESPONSORIUM*:

Calligauerunt oculi mei a fletu meo, quia elongatus est a <fol. 267^r> me qui consolabatur me. Videte, omnes populi, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus. *Versus*: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte. Si est.¹⁰³

OMNIBUS VT PRIUS GENUFLEXIS DUO SACERDOTES PREDICTI STANTES CANTENT *versum* VT SUPRA:

Ego dedi tibi sceptrum regale, et tu meo capiti coronam spineam; ego te exaltaui magna virtute, et tu me suspendisti in patibulo crucis.

FINITO VERSU CHORUS CANTET:

Sanctus, TOTUM VT SUPRA: Sanctus Deus.

DICTO Miserere nobis, SACERDOS CUM REUERENTIA ACCIPIAT CORPUS *Domini* DE FERETRO ET ILLUD IN MANIBUS ELEUATUM TENEAT CONUERSUS AD POPULUM ET VERSIS RENIBUS <fol. 267^v> AD SEPULCHRUM. TUNC DUO CLERICI GENUFLEXI CANTENT VERSUM: Cum autem venissent, ET RELIQUOS INFRA NOTATOS:

Versus: Cum autem venissent ad locum ubi crucifigendus erat filius meus, statuerunt eum in medio omnis populi, et vestibus expoliatis, nudum dimiserunt corpus sanctissimum.

Versus: O dulcissime filie Syon, o dulcissime, videte dolorem meum. Inspicite nudum in medio omnis populi filium meum dulcissimum; vulneratus est in medio eorum.

¹⁰¹ prius] primus (Print).

¹⁰² Second responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

¹⁰³ Responsory in Matins of Good Friday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 767.

1 *Versus*: Cum vero venissent ad locum ubi sepeliendus erat filius meus, statuerunt eum in medio mulierum; et syndone inuoluentes sepulchrum dimiserunt corpus sanctissimum.

2 *Versus*: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, venite et videte si est dolor sicut meus; desolata sum nimis; non est qui consoletur me; salus mea infirmata est; vita occiditur et a me tollitur.

3 *Versus*: O nimis triste spectaculum, o crudele supplitium impensum filio, o <fol. 268^r> felix rex tam indecenti morte coronatus, pontifices iniquitatis tantum ne in vestrum exardescitis Deum?

4 *Versus*: Attendite vos, o populi et uniuerse plebes, dolorem maximum: morte turpissima mactauerunt filium meum. Vos optime sorores, flete vna mecum; de filio conqueramur.

5 *Versus*: Cum vero deposuissent corpus Iesu de cruce, statuerunt illud in gremio matris sue, in medio mulierum amarissime fletium, mestissima matre filium nimis deplorante. <fol. 268^v>

CANTATIS PREDICTIS *versibus* VEL EORUM PARTE, SACERDOS ELEUATIS MANIBUS CUM CORPORE CHRISTI IN MODUM CRUCIS BENEDICAT POPULUM ET CUM REUERENTIA ILLUD PONAT IN SEPULCHRO, ET IPSUM CLAUDAT ET SIGILLO SUO SIGNET. *Responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illum. <*VERSUS*>: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis.

FINITO *responsorio* PREDICTO, DUO CLERICI DICANT *versum*:

In pace factus est locus eius.

Responsio:

Et in Syon habitatio eius.

ET SACERDOS, SINE Dominus vobiscum VEL Oremus, DICAT ABSOLUTE ORATIONEM:

Respice, quesumus, Domine, super hanc familiam tuam pro qua Dominus noster Iesus Christus non dubitauit manibus tradi nocentium, et crucis subire tormentum.

ET NON DICAT Qui tecum, NEC RESPONDEATUR Amen. ET SIC TERMINETUR PROCESSIO.

SI PROCESSIO DEBET FIERI PROLIXIOR ET IN EA PLURES MANSIONES SEU STATIONES FIERI OPORTEAT, FINITO *responsorio* Caligauerunt cum *versu* ET ALIIS QUE SEQUUNTUR, REPETATUR ALIQUOD *responsorium* DE PREDICTIS CUM SUO *versu* ET ALIIS QUE SEQUUNTUR, ITA QUOD *responsorium*, Sepulto, VLTIMO LOCO RESERUETUR QUANDO CORPUS DOMINI PONITUR IN SEPULCHRO. <fol. 269^r>

SUPRA POSITA PROCESSIO MORE VENETO FIT INFRASCRIPTO ORDINE. PARATIS OMNIBUS VT SUPRA IN PRECEDENTI PROCESSIONE, NOTATUM EST LOCO *responsorii*, Plange, INCIPITUR A DUOBUS CLERICIS GENUFLEXIS *antiphona*, Venite et ploramus, IN CANTU VT INFERIUS NOTATUM EST. POSTMODUM TOTUS CHORUS SURGENS DICAT *versum*, Popule, VT SUPRA. QUO FINITO ILLI DUO CLERICI QUI CANTAVERUNT Venite et plo<remus>, CANTANT *versum* Quia edu<xi>, ET CHORUS REPETIT *versum* Popule. ITEM DUO CLERICI DICANT *versum* Ego propter te fla<gellau>, ET CHORUS REPETIT *versum* Popule. ET SIC ALTERNATIM DICANTUR IMPROPERIA PRO VT SUPRA SIGNATUM EST IN ADORATIONE CRUCIS,

FO. 258. VEL IPSA IMPROPERIA CANTANTUR IN SEXTO TONO PSALMORUM. ET CUM IN DICTA PROCESSIONE FIERI DEBET ALIQUA STATIO SEU MANSIO, OMNES GENUFLECTANT ET ILLI DUO CANTENT *antiphonam* Venite et, VT SUPRA. QUA DICTA SURGANT OMNES ET SEQUANTUR PROCESSIONEM CANTANDO *versum* Popule, ET IMPROPERIA, VT SUPRA. CUM AUTEM PERUENERINT AD SEPULCHRUM FACIANT OMNIA VT SUPRA IN PRECEDENTI PROCESSIONE. <fol. 269v>

Venite et ploremus ante Dominum, qui passus est pro nobis dicens.¹⁰⁴

According to this *ordo* the *Depositio* is performed either after the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* or later, after dinner. The procession is made especially impressive through the use of a bier (*feretrum*) and a canopy (*baldachinum*). The ceremonial begins with the priest's taking the Host reverently from the altar at the singing of the responsory *Plange quasi virgo*. At the conclusion of the responsory two priests begin the Improperia (*Popule meus*),¹⁰⁵ to which the choir responds (*Sanctus Deus*). The priest places the Host on the bier, over which a canopy is held, and beside which are carried thuribles and lights. The procession to the *sepulchrum* is made in four stages, each stage having its processional responsory. At each station the two priests already mentioned sing a verse of the *Improperia*, to which the choir makes a response. The fourth station occurs before the *sepulchrum*, where, after a final verse of the *Improperia*, followed by the *Miserere*, the priest takes the Host from the bier and holds it aloft before the congregation while two clerics kneeling sing a series of *versus*. The priest now blesses the congregation with the Host and reverently places it in the *sepulchrum*. During the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino* he closes the *sepulchrum* and seals it. The office closes with a versicle, a response, and a prayer.

More significant than the splendor of this procession is the use of the *Improperia*, borrowed directly from the traditional *Adoratio Crucis* of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. The presence of this liturgical element is definitive proof of the influence of the *Adoratio* upon the *Depositio*.¹⁰⁶ Particularly noteworthy also is the use of the *feretrum* for bearing the *Corpus Christi* to

¹⁰⁴ The last word is written twice, with varying musical notation. It will be observed that this antiphon (*Uenite et . . . dicens*) is referred to above, on fol. 269^r of the print. The last word *dicens* is followed immediately by a rubric beginning: *Sabbato Sancto*.

¹⁰⁵ See above, pp. 20-29.

¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 20-29.

the *sepulchrum*. It will be observed, however, that with all its careful construction and elaboration, this dramatic office contains no impersonation, and hence stops short of true drama.

No less striking in its content is the combined *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* from the same compilation of Castellani:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>¹⁰⁷

DE PROCESSIONE IN NOCTE PASCHE ANTE MATUTI<NUM>

AD SEPULCHRUM CHRISTI.

DIE sancto RESURRECTIONIS CUM FUERIT PULSATUM AD MATUTI<NUM>, ANTEQUAM POPULUS INTRET ECCLESIAM, SACERDOS CUM CRUCE ET THURIBULO APPARATUS SUPERPELICEO, STOLLA, ET PLUVIALI, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS ACCENSIS ET SEQUENTE TOTO CLERO CUM REUERENTIA, APERTO SEPULCHRO ACCIPIAT CORPUS DOMINI ET PORTET ILLUD IN LOCO SACRARIÛ UBI SACROSANCTUM SACRAMENTUM SERUARI CONSUEUIT. ET INTERIM CHORUS CANTET SEQUENTES *psalmos* VEL ALIQUEM EORUM:

Psalmus: Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me. . . . et super populum tuum benedictio tua. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.¹⁰⁸

Psalmus: Domine, probasti me et cognouisti me. Supra fo. 160.

Psalmus: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea. .<fol. 275v>. . et super omnem terram gloria tua. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.¹⁰⁹

FINITIS PSALMIS, SACERDOS, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS ET THURIBULO, CORPUS DOMINI PORTET AD SANCTUARIUM SUUM, SEQUENTE CLERO ET CANTANTE *Responsorium* Surrexit pastor; SEPULCHRUM PATENTER DIMITTATUR APERTUM. *Responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus qui animam suam postuit pro ouibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. *Versus*: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno.<fol. 276r> Et pro suo grege.¹¹⁰

TUNC SACERDOS FACIENS OFFICIUM STANS CUM SACERDOTIBUS IN CHORO DICIT *versum*:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

Responsio:

Et apparuit Simoni, alleluia.

Oremus.

¹⁰⁷ *Liber Sacerdotalis*, 1523, fol. 275^v–278^v.

¹⁰⁸ Ps. iii. I omit the body of the psalm, giving only the beginning and ending.

¹⁰⁹ Ps. lvi. I omit the body of this psalm.

¹¹⁰ *Responsory* for Matins of Thursday in Easter Week. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.

ORATIO:

Omnipotens semipiterne Deus, qui hac sacratissima nocte cum potentia tue maiestatis resurgens portas inferni confregisti, et omnibus ibi detentis dexteram tue misericordie porrexisti, scilicet miserando diucius penis estuantis Gehenne cruciatis quos dudum ad ymaginem tuam creasti, quesumus nos indigni et vltima pars creature tue vt per gratiam tue miserationis ac per sancte resurrectionis tue amorem necnon omnium sanctarum animarum quas hac sacratissima nocte de penis inferni ad celestia regna perduxisti, simulque per omne mysterium quod in resurrectione tua celebrasti, nobis indignis ac fragilibus omnium peccatorum nostrorum indulgentiam largiri digneris atque iram et furorem et indignationem tue vindicte a nobis repellas, et auxilium, consolationem, ac protectionem in omnibus peccatis, periculis, ac infirmitatibus animarum et corporum nobis concedas; et sicut corpus tue humanitatis, quod ad tempus pro nostra salute exuisti post triduum tue maiestatis potentia resuscitasti, ita corpora et corda nostra ab omnibus vicijs emundari et animas nostras in futura resurrectione beatorum spirituum cetibus facias aggregari. Qui cum patre et cetera.

In memoriam et laudem gloriose resurrectionis tue hymnum dicat tibi omnis creatura tua, Domine; et nos quamuis peccatores et dilinquentes hymnum dicimus et gratias agimus, venerandamque crucem tuam adoramus sanctamque resurrectionem tuam laudamus et glorificamus, quoniam per te redempti sumus; ideoque crucifixum Dominum laudamus, et sepultum propter nos magnificamus, resurgentemque a mortuis adoramus et petimus vt per te et sanctam resurrectionem tuam nos a morte animarum nostrarum resuscitare digneris. Qui cum patre.

Oratio:

Domine Iesu Christe, propter hoc gaudium quod tu cum sanctissima anima tua et corpore in tua sancta resurrectione <fol. 276v> voluisti habere cum omnibus fidelibus tuis iustis et peccatoribus viuientibus et mortuis miserere nobis, sicut vis et scis necessitates animarum et corporum; et da nobis spacium penitentiae, et veram compunctionem, emendationem, omnium peccatorum nostrorum; et presta nobis, Iesu Christe, vt precium corporis et sanguinis tui cum quo nos in sancta cruce redemisti, percipiamus ad salutem animarum nostrarum in nouissima hora, et quod spiritalem unctionem spiritalis olei et salutaris cum omni affectu cordium et corporum percipiamus. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuis ac regnas in vnitatem, et cetera.

ORATIONIBUS FINITIS SACERDOS CORPUS DOMINI REUERENTER THURIFICET.

DUM PREDICTE ORATIONES DICUNTUR DUO DIACONI PARENTUR CUM DALMATICIS ALBIS ET IN ECCLESIA REMANEANT. SACERDOS AUTEM PARATUS VT SUPRA CUM TOTO CLERO EXEAT PER PORTAM ECCLESIE MINOREM, MAIORI PORTA CLAUSA RELICTA, ET VENIANT AD PORTAM MAIOREM ECCLESIE CANTANDO *responsorium*: Dum transisset sabbatum; ET CUM ILLUC PERUENERINT, SACERDOS ACCEDIT AD PORTAM CLAUSAM; CLERUS CIRCUMSTAT EUM. *RESPONSORIUM*:

Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene, Maria Iacobi, et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes vngerent Iesum, alleluia, al<fol. 277r>

leluia. *Versus:* Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole. Ut venientes. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto, alle<luia>.

ET DUM PERUENERINT AD FORES ECCLESIE, COMPLETO *responsorio* CUM *versu* ET REPLICA, PLEBANUS VEL SACERDOS PARATUS PULSAT AD OSTIUM MANU VEL CUM CRUCE DICENS SONORA VOCE IN TONO LECTIONIS:

Attollite portas principes vestras, et elleuamini porte eternales, et introibit rex glorie.

ET PRO ISTA PRIMA PULSATIONE ILLI DEINTUS NIHIL RESPONDENT. ET FACTO MODICO INTERVALLO, SACERDOS ITERUM VEHEMENTIUS PULSAT AD OSTIUM DICENS VOCE ALTIORI IN TONO LECTIONIS:

Attollite portas prin<cipes>, ET *cetera*.

ET ILLI DEINTUS NIHIL RESPONDENT. ET TUNC SACERDOS, MODICO INTERVALLO FACTO, ITERUM IN EODEM TONO SED ALTIUS QUAM SECUNDO PULSANS FORTITER OSTIUM ECCLESIE DICIT:

Attollite portas principes, ET *cetera*.

TUNC ILLI DYACONI DEINTUS STATIM CANTANDO RESPONDENT:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Christicole?

ET ILLI DE FORIS RESPONDENT:

Iesum Nazarenum <fol. 277^v> crucifixum, o Celicole.

ET ITERUM ILLI DEINTUS RESPONDEANT:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.

HOC FINITO, QUI DEINTUS SUNT APERIANT PORTAM ECCLESIAE, ET OMNES INGREDIANTUR. ET ITERUM DICANT QUI DEINTUS ERANT:

Venite et videte locum vbi positus erat Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

ET CUM FUERINT PORTAM INGRESSI, FIRMENT SE OMNES ET DIUIDANT PER CHOROS. TUNC PLEBANUS VADAT AD SEPULCHRUM ET PONAT CAPUT IN FENESTRA SEPULCHRI; ET POSTEA CONVERSUS AD POPULUM DICAT VOCE MEDIOCRI:

Surrexit Christus.

CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

QUO DICTO, PLEBANUS PROCEDAT ALIQUANTULUM VERSUS POPULUM, ET EXALTET VOCEM ALTIUS QUAM PRIMUM ET DICAT:

Surrexit Christus.

CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

ITERUM TERTIO PLEBANUS PROCEDAT VERSUS POPULUM ALIQUANTULUM, ET EXALTATA VOCE ADHUC ALTIUS QUAM SECUNDO FECERAT ET DICAT: <fol. 278^r>

Surrexit Christus.

CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

QUO FACTO OMNES PROCEDANT AD SEPULCHRUM ET FACIANT CHOROS HINC ET INDE. TUNC PLEBANUS VADIT AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI ET STATIM RETROCEDAT VERSUS CHORUM ET DET PACEM PRIMO SACERDOTI SEU CLERICO VEL DOMINO TERRE, SI IBI FUERIT, ET DICAT VOCE SUBMISSA:

Surrexit Dominus.

ET ILLE RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

DEINDE OMNES SIBI MUTUO DENT PACEM DICENTES:

Surrexit Dominus.

ET ILLE CUI PAX DATUR RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

POSTMODUM VADANT OMNES AD ALTARE BEATE VIRGINIS PROCESSIONALITER, ET CORAM ALTARI GENUFLEXI SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE *antiphonam* Regina celi, EAM TOTAM CANTENT PRO GAUDIO RESURRECTIONIS FILII SUI DOMINI NOSTRI. ANTIPHONA:

Regina celi letare, alleluia,

Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia,

Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluia.

Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia. <fol. 278^v>

Versus:

Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genitrix, alleluia.

Responsio:

Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi, alleluia.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Deus, qui per unigeniti filii tui Domini Nostri Iesu Christi resurrectionem familiam tuam letificare dignatus es, presta, quesumus, vt per eius venerabilem genitricem virginem Mariam perpetue capiamus gaudia vite. Per eundem Christum.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Gratiam tuam, quesumus, Domine, mentibus nostris infunde, vt qui angelo nunciante Christi filii tui incarnationem cognouimus, per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum.

HIS FINITIS REVERTANTUR AD CHORUM ET CANTENT MATUTINAS.

This dramatic office occurs before Easter Matins, and the raising of the Host is accomplished before the arrival of the laymen.¹¹¹ During the singing of psalms by the choir, the priest opens the *sepulchrum* and takes up the *Corpus Domini*. Then while the choir sings the responsory *Surrexit pastor*, the priest carries the Host to the sacristy, where after a versicle, response, and prayer, it is given its final censing.

The clergy now proceed to a ceremony inspired by the theme of the Harrowing of Hell. While two deacons remain within the church, the priest and other clerics pass in procession to a position outside the closed central door, the processional

¹¹¹ One should note, however, the presence of the *populus* during the later parts of the office.

responsory being *Dum transisset*. The priest, or a *plebanus*, now strikes the door with his hand, or with a cross, saying *Attollite portas*. This is done three times. After each of the first two strikings follows an interval of silence. To the third challenge the two deacons within the church respond with the interrogation *Quem queritis?* Now follows the usual dialogue of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, at the conclusion of which the door of the church is opened. At the invitation of the two deacons (*Venite et videte*) the *plebanus* peers through the window of the *sepulchrum*, and then turning to the choir utters the *Surrexit Christus*, the choir responding *Deo gratias*. After this versicle and response have been repeated twice, and after the Kiss of Peace has been given, the whole congregation moves from the *sepulchrum* to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, where the office closes with an antiphon, a versicle and response, and prayers.

It may fairly be said that this version consists of three distinct parts: (1) the *Elevatio*, (2) a representation of the *Descensus ad inferos*, and (3) a *Visitatio Sepulchri*. These parts, however, do not occupy positions equally independent. Whereas the *Elevatio* may be said to stand by itself, the other two divisions are amalgamated in a somewhat conspicuous manner, and this amalgamation cannot be considered completely successful. Although the action of this part of the office is smooth, the incongruity of the themes is not surmounted. The *Quem queritis* dialogue, implying the visit of the Maries to the empty tomb, is inappropriately used in a representation of the yielding of the gates of Hell.

Although in describing this ceremony I have used the word "representation," it should be observed that since the text presents no evidence of impersonation, we are dealing, once more, not with a true play, but with a dramatic office.

Finally one other detail in the version before us calls for comment: the *Pax*, or Kiss of Peace. It may be that this part of the ceremonial shows the influence of a certain practice prescribed as a prelude to Easter Matins by some of the oldest of the *Ordines Romani*. Thus in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, representing the liturgy of about the year 800, we read the following:¹¹²

¹¹² Duchesne, p. 471, from a manuscript of the ninth century.

In ipsa nocte sancta Resurrectionis, post gallorum cantu surgendum est. Et dum venerint ad ecclesiam et oraverint, osculant se invicem cum silentio. Deinde dicit *Deus in adjutorium meum*.¹¹³

In this case the celebration is very simple, consisting merely in the saying of prayers and in the Kiss of Peace. A similar observance is seen in the following from *Ordo Romanus I*:

In ipsa nocte post gallorum cantum, matutino irrupente luce tenebras, surgentes in ecclesia veniunt, & mutua caritate se invicem osculantes dicunt: *Deus in adjutorium meum*.¹¹⁴

The same tradition is found outside Rome in such a passage as the following:¹¹⁵

In crastino summo diluculo ueniunt studiose omnes in ecclesiam & mutua pace inuicem se osculantes dicunt:

Surrexit Xpistuc.

Responsio:

Gaudeamus omnes.

Deinde:

Domine labia mea.¹¹⁶

It will be observed, however, that none of the observances just cited is explicitly associated with the *sepulchrum*. Such association is seen in the following:¹¹⁷

Dum classis pro officio nocturno pulsatur, duæ candelæ in Sepulcro ponantur, & ceroferarii mittantur ad Archiepiscopum, qui veniens indutus cappa serica alba ante Sepulcrum dicat:

Confiteor, &c.

Deinde intrans, facta oratione, Sepulcrum osculatur & altaria. Inde vero exiens Decanum osculetur. Postea intrans in chorum, ceroferariis præcedentibus, & stans inter Cantores in medio choro dicat:

Resurrexit Dominus,

& cantor respondeat:

Et apparuit Petro,

¹¹³ With the words *Deus in adjutorium meum* Matins begins.

¹¹⁴ Mabillon, II, 28. More extensive Roman ceremonials for early Easter morning, including the *Pax*, have been introduced above, pp. 27-29.

¹¹⁵ Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Graduale Ratisbonense saec. xi, fol. 1^r. This manuscript of seventy-one folios has no shelf-mark in the Udine library. For the text now published I am indebted to my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight. To Dom Beyssac I am deeply grateful for many generous services in connection with the present study.

¹¹⁶ With these words begins Easter Matins.

¹¹⁷ Martène, p. 503, from an *Ordinarium Viennense*, of uncertain date.

& dat ei osculum pacis; similiter & alii Cantori. Alii Clerici ordinate idem faciunt ad Sepulcrum; & sic fiat quando Archiepiscopus agit officium, & quando ejus vicarius pro eo illud facit, hoc modo fiat. Primo Cantores induti cappis sericis albis, deinde vicarius Archiepiscopi accedentes ad Sepulcrum in introitu portæ genibus flexis Cantores stent, vicarius intret in Sepulcrum, & facta oratione, veniat ad portam, & dicat Cantoribus:

Resurrexit Dominus.

Cantores respondeant:

Et apparuit Petro.

Postea intrent omnes in Sepulcrum deosculando altaria. Deinde nocturnum officium incipitur.

It may be, then, that the use of the *Pax* in such observances as these is the source of the *Pax* in the *Elevatio-Visitatio* from the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of Castellani, and elsewhere.¹¹⁸

With the versions of Castellani we may appropriately associate those in use in the eighteenth century in the Church of St. Mark at Venice.¹¹⁹ The characteristic elements seen in the texts of Castellani persist at Venice two centuries later. The *Depositio* of St. Marks is prescribed as follows:

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>¹²⁰

PROCESSIO AD SEPULCRUM

POST PRANDIUM, HORA CONSUETA, IMMEDIATE POST PRÆDICATIONEM, FIT SANCTISSIMI SEPULCHRI CHRISTI PROCESSIO HOC MODO, VIDELICET. IN PRIMIS PRÆPARENTUR IN CANONICA SEXAGINTA INTORTITIA ALBA A SEX MAGNIS SCHOLIS, DECEM PRO QUALIBET IPSARUM DISTRIBUENDA. QUIBUS ACCENSIS, DISCEDUNT PRIMO DECEM EX SCHOLASTICIS SCHOLÆ SANCTI THEODORI, CUM PRÆDICTIS INTORTITIIS ACCENSIS, & VENIENTES IN CHORUM VERSUS ALTARE MAJUS, VADUNT BINI & BINI PER MEDIAM CHORI PORTAM, QUÆ EST APUD SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS SEDEM. ET SIC DEVOTE SUCCEDUNT ALII DECEM SCHOLÆ SANCTI ROCCHI. DEINDE ALII DECEM SCHOLÆ MISERICORDIÆ. POSTEA ALII DECEM SCHOLÆ SANCTI JOANNIS EUANGELISTÆ. DEINDE ALII DECEM SCHOLÆ CHARITATIS. POSTMODUM CLERUS SANCTI MARCI. POST QUEM SUCCEDUNT DUO CANTORES <p. 278> CHORI. DEINDE QUATUOR JUVENES PRESBYTERI CAMISIIS NIGRIS & STOLIS VIOLACEIS PECTORI TRANSVERSATIS INDUTI, QUATUOR CEREOS PARVOS

¹¹⁸ See below, pp. 88, 89, 97, 109.

¹¹⁹ *Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiæ Sancti Marci Venetiarum* . . . , Venice, 1736 (British Museum), pp. 277–282, 345–349. The *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* from this book have been reprinted by Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XLI, 78–80. So far as I know, the *Depositio* has not previously been brought into relation with the drama.

¹²⁰ *Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ . . . Sancti Marci* . . . , Venice, 1736, pp. 277–282. The present text is preceded immediately by the rubric: Et sic Missa cum Vesperis terminetur.

ACCENSOS PORTANTES. POSTEA QUATUOR CLERICI DALMATICIS NIGRIS INDUTI, THURIBULUM & NAVICELLAS CUM INCENSO DEFERENTES. DEINDE QUATUOR CANONICI CUM DALMATICIS VELLUTI NIGRI, FERETRUM CUM SANCTISSIMO CHRISTI CORPORE DEFERENTES. POSTMODUM DUO ALII JUVENES PRESBYTERI CAMISIIS NIGRIS & STOLIS VIOLACEIS PECTORI TRANSVERSATIS INDUTI, CEREOS MAJORES ACCENSOS PORTANTES. ET CUM SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI CORPUS EST SUPER SACRARIUM PORTAM, OMNIBUS FLECTENTIBUS GENUA, CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Venite, & ploremus ante Dominum, qui passus est pro nobis, dicens: QUO DECANTATO OMNES SURGUNT, & CANTORUM TURBA AD OMNES PAUSAS RESPONDET *versum*:

Popule meus, quid feci tibi? aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi.
Versus:

Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis, & manna cibavi te, & introduxi te in terram optimam.

Versus:

Aceto namque¹²¹ sitim meam potasti, & lancea perforasti latus Salvatori tuo. <p. 279>

POSTEA EXIT E SACRARIO REVERENDUS VICARIUS, SEU QUI FACIT OFFICIUM, CUM PLUVIALI & STOLA VELLUTI NIGRI. HUNC SEQUUNTUR ALII DECEM SCHOLASTICI SCHOLÆ SANCTI MARCI. DEINDE SCUTIFERI & SECRETARII CEREOLOS, QUOS APUD PORTAM CHORI IN CAPSELLIS PRÆPARATOS, & ACCENSOS AD HOC INVENERINT, DEFERENTES. POSTREMO SEQUITUR SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO. ET CUM PERVENERIT SUBTER PORTICUM PALATII CLERUS ORDINATE A QUINQUE SCHOLARUM PRÆDICTARUM SCHOLASTICIS, PARTIM A DEXTRIS & PARTIM A SINISTRIS COMITETUR. SIT AUTEM SUBTER PALATII PORTICUM UMBELLA NIGRA PRÆPARATA CUM SEX SUBCANONICIS PLUVIALIBUS SAMITI NIGRI INDUTIS, & IPSAM UMBELLAM DELATURIS. CUM PERVENERIT IGITUR SANCTISSIMI CORPORIS CHRISTI FERETRUM, IPSUM SUBTER UMBELLAM MAGNA CUM REVERENTIA RECIPIATUR, & SIC AD SANCTAM PROCESSIONEM DEVOTE PROCEDATUR, STANTIBUS SEMPER APUD DUAS ULTIMAS HASTAS UMBELLÆ DUOBUS EX HONORABILIBUS SCHOLASTICIS SCHOLÆ SANCTI MARCI. POST FERETRUM SEQUITUR REVERENDUS VICARIUS, DEINDE SCUTIFERI, SECRETARII, <p. 280> MAGNUS CANCELLARIUS, & SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO. CUMQUE FIT PRIMA PAUSA AD PETRAM BANNI, OMNES FLECTANT GENUA, & CANTORES CANENT *versum*:

Venite, & ploremus,
UT SUPRA. QUO DECANTATO, OMNES SURGUNT. ET CANTORUM TURBA RESPONDENTE *VERSUM*:

Popule meus,
UT SUPRA, TALIS ORDO PER TOTAM PROCESSIONEM SERVARI DEBEAT. SECUNDA PAUSA FIT PER MEDIUM PORTAM ECCLESIE SANCTI MARCI, OMNIBUS GENUA FLECTENTIBUS &, UT SUPRA, CANENDO. TERTIA PAUSA FIT PER MEDIUM PORTAM SANCTI BASSI, SIMILITER FLECTENDO GENUA & CANENDO, UT SUPRA. CUM AUTEM OMNES SCHOLÆ IN TEMPLUM PERVENERINT, FACIANT CHORUM, PRIMA APUD PORTAM MAJOREM ECCLESIE, CAETERISQUE TALITER SE DISPOSENTIBUS, UT ULTIMA SIT APUD SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI SEPULCHRUM COLLOCATA. RESTITUTISQUE AB

¹²¹ namque] nanque (Print).

OMNIBUS AD PORTAM MAJOREM ECCLESIE CEREOLIS, SCUTIFERI & SECRETARIJ ASCENDUNT CHORUM PER PORTAM QUÆ DUCIT APUD SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS SEDEM. SED CLERUS TOTUS VADIT CONTRA SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI SEPULCHRUM. AD QUOD CUM SANCTIS <P. 281> SIMUM CHRISTI CORPUS PERVENERIT, SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO SISTIT SE. REVERENDUSQUE¹²² VICARIUS CUM TABERNACULO IN MANIBUS STAT SUPER SEPULCHRI ARAM, & OMNIBUS GENUA DEVOTE FLECTENTIBUS, CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Cum autem venisset ad locum ubi crucifigendus erat filius meus, statuerunt eum in medio omnis populi, & vestibus expoliatis, nudum dimiserunt corpus sanctissimum.

QUO DECANTATO, DICTUS REVERENDUS VICARIUS CUM TABERNACULO, MORE SOLITO DAT SUAM SANCTAM BENEDICTIONEM. DEINDE REVERENTER DEPOSITO SANCTISSIMO CHRISTI CORPORE IN SEPULCHRO, MAGNUS CANCELLARIUS RECEPTO PRIUS A SERENISSIMO PRINCIPE ANNULO, IPSUM DEFERT DICTO REVERENDO VICARIO, QUI IPSIUS SEPULCHRI OSTIUM SIGILLAT; QUO SIGILLATO CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum ad ostium monumenti: ponentes milites qui custodirent illud, ne forte veniant discipuli & furentur eum, & dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. <p. 282>

DEINDE OMNES SURGUNT, & SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO CHORUM ASCENDIT. SCHOLASTICI QUOQUE REDEUNT IN CANONICAM AD EXTINGUENDA & RESITUENDA INTORTITIA. CLERUS VERO REMANET ANTE SEPULCHRUM, & DICITUR COMPLETORIUM LEGENDO, UT SUPRA, CUM RELIQUIS. ET IN FINE ORATIO:

Respice, quæsumus, Domine, fol. 175.

QUO FINITO OMNES REDEUNT IN CHORUM, & INCHOATUR MATUTINUM.

This office is performed *post prandium*, immediately before Compline. The most conspicuous part of the ceremonial is the elaborate procession into the church, and of this procession the most notable aspect is the use of the *Impropria* at the beginning and at three subsequent stations. Since the significance of this use of the *Impropria* has already been commented upon,¹²³ we need not emphasize it here. The actual placing of the Host in the *sepulchrum* is accomplished very simply, and the concluding *Sepulto Domino* allies the present version of the *Depositio* with the normal type.

The other ceremonials connected with the *sepulchrum* take the following form:

¹²² Reverendusque] Reverendisque (Print).

¹²³ See above, p. 69.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>¹²⁴

DOMINICA RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

SUMMO MANE, APERTO PRIUS A SACRISTA SEPULCHRO & SANCTISSIMO SACRAMENTO IN SUO LOCO DEBITA REVERENTIA COLLOCATO, CLERUS NOSTER HORA COMPETENTI IN SACRARIUM HODIE CONVENIAT, AC UNUSQUISQUE MAGISTRI CÆREMONIARUM CURA SUO FUNGATUR OFFICIO. ET PALLA IN PRIMIS APERTA, AC THESAURO SUPER ALTARE BENE DISPOSITO, QUATUOR ACOLYTI ORDINarii CAMISIS MUNDIS INDUTI, CEREOS ARGENTEOS DEFERENTES, E SACRARIO MODERATE DISCEDUNT. CRUCIFERI AUTEM DALAMTICIS ALBIS DAMASCENIS NOVIS SUPRA LINEAS TUNICAS INDUTI, IN MEDIO EORUM MAGNAM CRUCEM ARGENTEAM DEFERUNT. HOS SEQUITUR CLERICORUM & SACERDOTUM TURBA JUNIORUM. POSTEA SUBCANONICI & CANONICI GRADATIM SOLEMNIBUS PLUVIALIBUS INDUTI. DEINDE REVERENDUS VICARIUS VEL SENIOR CANONICUS PRE<P. 346>TIOSIORIBUS CUM MINISTRIS INDUTUS MISSALIBUS PARAMENTIS, CUM TRIBUS CANDELIS ACCENSIS SERENISS. PRINCIPI, PROCURATORI, & CELEBRANTI DISTRIBUENDIS. POSTREMO SEQUITUR CÆREMONIARUM MAGISTER UNA CUM TRIBUS CLERICIS, QUORUM ALTER DEFERAT LIBRUM ORDINARIUM, ALTER ORATIONALE PRO DECENDA PRIMA OPPORTUNO TEMPORE AD SEPULCHRUM, TERTIUS SIT A NEGOTIIS EJUSDEM MAGISTRI. HUIJUSMODI PROCESSIO EXIT PER PORTAM SANCTI CLEMENTIS & RECTA AD SCALAM MAJOREM AD SINISTRAM SUB PORTICU CONTENDIT. QUÆ FIRMATUR SUB PORTICU SUPERIORI PALATII, & FACTO CHORO EX UTRAQUE PARTE, CELEBRANS UNA CUM MINISTRIS, COMITE CÆREMONIARUM MAGISTRO, ASCENDENS SCALAM DUCALEM, OCCURRIT SERENISS. PRINCIPI E SCALA COLLEGI DESCENDENTI, UBI PRIUS FACTA DEBITA REVERENTIA, OFFERT CANDELAM ACCENSAM SUE SERENITATI, ALIAM PROCURATORI NOSTRÆ ECCLESIE, QUI HOC PROCESSIONIS ITINERE PRÆCEDIT, DE MORE, CÆTEROS ORATORES, & EST PROPE SERENISS. PRINCIPEM, SED IN REDITU LOCUM PETIT SUUM. TERTIAM CANDELAM CELEBRANS SIBI RETINET. QUIBUS CANDELIS OBLATIS, PRÆDICTUS CLERUS <P. 347>SUMMA MODESTIA DESCENDENS E SCALA MAJORE PALATII, EXIT PER PORTAM AUREAM, NISI PLUAT; TUNC ENIM EODEM ORDINE, QUO VENIT, FIERET INTROITUS PER PORTAM SANCTI CLEMENTIS, & IRETUR AD SEPULCHRUM PER PARVAM SCALAM SANCTI JACOBI, PRIUS AMOTIS SEDIBUS OB PRÆDICATIONEM IBIDEM PRÆPARATIS. ET CUM NOSTRA CRUX INGREDITUR PLATEAM, CAMPANÆ PULSANTUR. LICET MANE CAMPANA DUCALIS ADVENTUM PRINCIPI INDICANS, NON PULSETUR, NEQUE A CELEBRANTE DE DOMINICA RESURRECTIONE SERENISS. PRINCEPS ADMONEATUR. CUM PERVENERIT AUTEM PROCESSIO AD ECCLESIAM, OMNES PROCEDUNT USQUE AD SECUNDAM JANUAM MAJOREM ECCLESIE, QUÆ CLAUSA EST, & OMNES ALIÆ CLAUSÆ SINT, PRÆTER DUAS PARVAS: SCILICET QUÆ TENDUNT IN CANONICAM & IN PALATIUM AD SANCTUM CLEMENTEM. ET FACTO CHORO INTER DUAS ILLAS JANUAS MAJORES SUB PORTICU ECCLESIE, QUO MELIUS FIERI POTEST, INTRAT ETIAM SUA SERENITAS EO SUB PORTICU CUM PROCURATORE & ORATORIBUS. CANONICUS CELEBRANS ACCEDIT AD JANUAM CLAUSAM & PULSAT TER CUM ANNULO ÆNEO PENDENTE EX IPSA, TRIBUS ICTIBUS PRO QUALI <P. 348>

¹²⁴ *Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ . . . Sancti Marci . . .*, Venice, 1736, pp. 345-349.

BET VICE, ITA UT SINT NOVEM ICTUS. ET CANTORES INTERIUS CANTANT *versum*:

Quem quæritis in sepulchro, Christicolæ?

ET ILLI DE FORIS EXTRINSECUS CANTANTES RESPONDEANT:

Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o Cœlicolæ.

ET ILLI DEINTUS DICANT:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut prædixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit, dicentes.

QUO FACTO ITERUM DICANT QUI DEINTUS SUNT:

Venite & videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluja, alleluja.

CUM AUTEM DICUNT: Venite & videte, PANDUNTUR FORES ECCLESIÆ, & OMNIBUS IN EAM INGREDIENTIBUS PROCEdit CLERUS ORDINATE CONTRA SEPULCHRUM. AD QUOD CUM SERENISS. PRINCEPS PERVENERIT, FIRMAT SE, FACIE AD SEPULCHRUM VERSA. TUNC CELEBRANS ASCENDIT AD SEPULCHRUM, & IMMISSO CAPITIS, UTRINQUE ERIGENS SE, VERSA FACIE AD SERENISS. PRINCIPEM IN PORTA SEPULCHRI CANTAT *versum*:

Surrexit Christus.

ET CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

DEINDE IN MEDIO SPATIO CHORI IDEM DECANTAT, ALIQUANTULUM EXTOLLENS VOCEM, & CHORUS EO MODO, QUO SUPRA, RESPONDEAT. TERTIO CANIT APUD SERENISSIMUM PRINCIPEM IN DEBITA DISTANTIA, SEMPER EXALTANDO <P. 349> VOCEM:

Surrexit Christus.

Responsio:

Deo gratias.

ET FACTA EADEM PER CHORUM RESPONSIONE, ACCEDENS AD SERENISS. PRINCIPEM, DEOSCULATUR EUM & PROCURATOREM Dicens:

Surrexit Christus.

ET ILLI RESPONDEANT:

Deo gratias.

DEINDE SACERDOS DEOSCULATUR DIACONUM & SUBDIACONUM, IDEM Dicens; ILLI VERO DANT OSCULUM SIBI PROPINQUIORIBUS; ET SIC SUCCESSIVE USQUE AD MINIMOS CLERICOS QUI ADSUNT, DICES ET RESPONDENTES, UT SUPRA. POSTEA SERENISS. PRINCEPS CUM SENATU ASCENDIT CHORUM. CLERUS VERO REMANET AD SEPULCHRUM, PRÆTER CANTORES QUI SUUM ASCENDUNT PULPITUM AD CANENDAM MISSAM, Dicens PRIMAM LEGENDO.¹²⁵

The observances outlined in this text occur on Easter morning immediately before Prime. The *Elevatio* proper is performed privately: that is, at an early hour a sacristan opens the sepulchre and removes the Host to an appropriate place. The simplicity of this observance is quite submerged in the ceremonial brilliance of the subsequent *Visitatio*. Since the *Visitatio*, however, is not our present concern, we need observe

¹²⁵ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Primam.

only that in general sequence and in the inclusion of the *Pax* the present version is similar to that of Castellani.

In view of the analyses already made of the actual texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, one need offer for the present division of this study only a very brief summary. The texts range in date from the eleventh century¹²⁶ to the eighteenth, they are distributed over Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Hungary, and they show every possible degree of ceremonial elaboration. Particularly notable is the liturgical nature of their content. Although the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are extra-liturgical in the sense of being deliberate additions to the authorized liturgical system, the actual utterances provided for these offices are well-known antiphons and responsories from the official liturgy itself. Most noteworthy of all, however, is the absence of dialogue and impersonation. An approach to dialogue, to be sure, is seen in connection with the theme of the *Descensus*; but in the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* proper, dialogue does not occur. None of the texts thus far examined shows unequivocal evidence that the clerics who serve in the dramatic offices undertake to impersonate characters connected with the events commemorated. In other words, none of the versions reviewed thus far can be considered true drama.

IV

We pass now to those versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the center of the ceremonial is not the Host but the Cross.

Since, as we have already observed,¹ the *Depositio* forms a natural sequel for the *Adoratio Crucis*, we may expect to find that a certain number of versions of the *Depositio Crucis* attach themselves to the *Adoratio* so directly as to form with the *Adoratio* a consecutive ceremonial. This is true of the earliest extant version of the *Depositio*, that preserved in the *Concordia*

¹²⁶ I refer to the *Elevatio* from St. Gall (above, p. 30). It should be remembered, however, that a *Depositio* of the type under consideration, and probably an *Elevatio*, are referred to in the tenth-century life of St. Udalricus (See above, p. 17).

¹ See above, p. 26.

Regularis of St. Athelwold. The *Adoratio Crucis* from this document, printed in full above,² is followed immediately by this version of the *Depositio*.³

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁴

NAM QUIA EA DIE DEPOSITIONEM CORPORIS SALUATORIS *nostri* CELEBRAMUS, USUM QUORUNDAM RELIGIOSORUM IMITABLEM AD FIDEM INDOCTI UULGI AC NEOFITORUM CORROBORANDAM EQUIPARANDO SEQUI, SI ITA CUI UISUM FUERIT UEL SIBI TALITER PLACUERIT HOC MODO DECREUIMUS. SIT AUTEM IN UNA PARTE ALTARIS, QUA UACUUM FUERIT, QUEDAM ASSIMILATIO SEPULCHRI, UELAMENQUE QUODDAM IN GYRO TENSUM QUOD DUM *Sanc̃a* CRUX ADORATA FUERIT DEPONATUR HOC ORDINE. VENIANT DIACONI QUI PRIUS PORTAUERUNT EAM, *et* INUOLUANT EAM SINDONE IN LOCO UBI ADORATA EST. TUNC REPORTENT EAM CANENTES ANTIPHONAS:

In pace in idipsum. Habitabit,

ITEM:

Caro mea requiescet in spe,

DONEC UENIANT AD LOCUM MONUMENTI,⁵ DEPOSITAQVE CRUCE, AC SI *Domini* *Nostri* *Ihesu* *Xpisti* CORPORE SEPULTO, DICANT ANTIPHONAM:

Sepulto *Domino*, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum.

IN EODEM LOCO *Sanc̃a* CRUX CUM OMNI REUERENTIA CUSTODIATUR USQUE DOMINICE⁶ NOCTEM RESURRECTIONIS. NOCTE UERO ORDINENTUR DUO *Fr̃atres* AUT TRES AUT PLURES, SI TANTA FUERINT CONGREGATIO, QUI IBIDEM <FOL. 20< PSALMOS DECANTANDO EXCUBIAS FIDELES EXERCEANT.⁷

This text of the *Depositio* not only shows a direct attachment of this office to the *Adoratio*, but it also explains the didactic purpose of the dramatic ceremonial. The *Depositio* is

² See above, pp. 20–22.

³ The *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from the *Concordia Regularis* have been printed numerous times. An adequate bibliography of this monastic rule is given by Chambers, II, 306–307. I take my texts directly from Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., in the British Museum. This manuscript dates from the early eleventh century, and represents the use of Winchester in the latter part of the tenth century. I scarcely need say that I have made full use of W. S. Logemann's admirable texts from the same manuscript, in *Anglia*, XIII, 421–428. Except for my omission of the Anglo-Saxon glosses, my texts differ in no essential way from those of Logemann.

⁴ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., fol. 19^v–20^f. In the manuscript the first word *Nam* of the present text follows immediately the last word *faciat* of the *Adoratio Crucis* printed above, pp. 20–22.

⁵ monumenti] monumento (MS).

⁶ Dominice] dominica (MS).

⁷ Followed immediately by the *ordo* for fetching the Host reserved for the *Missa Præsanchficatorum*.

designed for enforcing the intention of the *Adoratio*, and for strengthening the faith of the unlearned and of the neophytes. In a vacant part of the altar is prepared a likeness of the *sepulchrum*, with a veil stretched upon a ring. The deacons who have carried the Cross for the *Adoratio* wrap it in a cloth in the place of the adoration, and carry it to the *sepulchrum* singing the antiphons *In pace in idipsum* and *Caro mea*. The deacons now deposit the Cross in the *sepulchrum* as if it were the buried body of Christ, meanwhile singing the antiphon *Sepulto Domino*. Here the Cross is guarded until the night of the Resurrection. Two, three, or more brothers are appointed to keep faithful watch at the *sepulchrum* by night, singing psalms.

Our knowledge of the *Elevatio* is confined to the following sentence:⁸

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>

EIUSDEM TEMPORE NOCTIS ANTEQUAM MATUTINORUM SIGNA MOUEANTUR,
SUMANT EDITUI CRUCEM *et* PONANT IN LOCO SIBI CONGRUO.

In this brief rubric the sacristans of the church are charged with taking the Cross from the *sepulchrum* and putting it in an appropriate place,—this to be done before Matins on Easter morning.

The close relationship of the *Depositio* to the *Adoratio*, as seen in the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold, is further exemplified in the use of the cathedral of Rouen. The Rouen Gradual of the thirteenth century provides for the *Depositio* as follows:⁹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁰

*Quando CRUX ADORATA FUERIT A CLERO et POPULO ELEUET EAM SACERDOS
ALTE et INCIPIAT CANTOR HANC Antiphonam:*

Super omnia ligna cedrorum, tu sola excelsior, in qua uita mundi pependit,
in qua Xpistus triumphauit et mors mortem superauit in eternum.

QUO UISO CLERUS ET POPULUS GENUFLECTANT ET CHORUS FINIAT ANTIPHONAM
QUA CANTATA CRUX PARUULA IN COMMEMORATIONE SANGUINIS *et* AQVE DEFLENTI.

⁸ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., fol. 21^r.

⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 904, Graduale Rothomagensis saec. xiii, fol. 92^v-93^r. A photographic reproduction of this manuscript occupies the second volume of *Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen au xiii^e Siècle*, Rouen, 1907 edited by H. Loriquet, J. Pothier, and A. Collette. So far as I know, the *Depositio* from MS 904 is now printed for the first time. A bibliography of the Rouen manuscripts that contain liturgico-dramatic offices is given by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI (1908), pp. 224-227.

¹⁰ Bibl. Nat. MS latin 904, fol. 92^v-93^r.

DE LATERE REDEMPTORIS AQUA ET UINO LAUETUR DE QUO *commemorationem* SACRAM CLERUS BIBAT *et* POPULUS ET AD OPUS INFIRMORUM RESER ETUR. Q^{uo}¹¹ *facio* SACERDOTES *et* CLERICI ACCIPIANT CRUCIFIXUM *et* PORTENT AD SEPULCHRUM *preparatum* CANTANTES HOC RESPONSORIUM:

Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et dum male tracta <fol. 93r> retur non aperuit os suum; traditus est ad mortem ut uiuificaret populum suum.

Versus: In pace factus est locus eius et in Syon habitatio eius. *Repetendum*: Ut uiuificaret.

ET TUNC PONATUR IN SEPULCRO, PEDIBUS *uersis* AD ORIENTEM ET COOPERIATUR PALLIO, *et* INCENSANDO ILLUM DICAT *Archiepiscopus* UEL SACERDOS HANC ANTIPHONAM:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

QUA CANTATA CLAUDAT HOSTIUM SEPULCHRI.

RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, uolentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. *Repetendum*: Volentes.

HIS EXPLETIS MINISTRI CRUCIS CASULIS INDUTI AFFERANT AD ALTARE *cum* UINO *non* CONSECRATO RESERUATUM CORPUS *Domini*.¹²

The *Adoratio Crucis*, it will be observed, ends with the dramatic, and somewhat exceptional,¹³ ceremonial of the washing of the Cross¹⁴ with wine and water in commemoration of the Crucifixion. Then follows immediately the *Depositio* proper. After being carried to the *sepulchrum* during the singing of the responsory *Sicut ovis*, the Cross is laid in the *sepulchrum*, covered with a winding sheet, and censed. After the closing of the door of the *sepulchrum* is sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. Now follows immediately the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

The same dramatic office, with somewhat different rubrics, is found in a Rouen *ordinarium* of the fourteenth century in the following form:¹⁵

¹¹ It may be said that the *Depositio*, in the strict sense, begins at this point.

¹² This rubric indicates the beginning of the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

¹³ See the *Depositio* from Barking below, p. 119.

¹⁴ It is not clear that this *crux paruula* is the Cross used in the *Adoratio* or the one placed in the *sepulchrum*.

¹⁵ Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 384 (*olim* Y. 110), *Ordinarium Rothomagensis* saec. xiv, fol. 80r. So far as I know the *Depositio* from this manuscript is now printed for the first time. I assume that the same version of the *Depositio* is to be found in two other Rouen *ordinaria*, of the fifteenth century:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁶

QUO¹⁷ FINITO DEFERATUR CRUCIFIXUS AD SEPULCHRUM A DUOBUS *Presbyteris* REUESTIS QUI CANTAUERUNT *Popule meus. Archiepiscopus et plures Fratres* CUM EIS CANTANTES INCIPIAN *Responsorium*:

Sicut ovis ad occisionem. *Versus*: In pace factus est.

QUO COLLOCATO DICATUR *Antiphona*:

In pace in idipsum dor<miam>.

POSTEA *Archiepiscopus* UEL SACERDOS OSTIUM SEPULCRI CLAUDAT et DUO *Presbyteri* CUM EO et HUMILI VOCE INCIPIAN *Responsorium*:

Sepulto domino. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant. Ponentes.

QUO PERACTO *Archiepiscopus* UEL SACERDOS LAUET MANUS SUAS, et CUM MAGNA REUERENTIA AD SACRATORIUM PERGAT.¹⁸

In liturgical content this text is identical with that printed above from the Rouen Graduale of the thirteenth century; and it cannot be urged that the differences in the rubrics are of substantial importance.

The extant service books of Rouen do not mention the *Elevatio*. That this office was introduced early into the Rouen use, however, is clear from the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches, archbishop of Rouen in the eleventh century. This writer describes the *Depositi* and *Elevatio* as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁹

Quo<i.e. Adoratio Crucis>peracto, Crucifixus in commemoratione sanguinis et aquæ fluentis de latere Redemptoris vino et aqua lavetur, de quo post sacram Communionem chorus bibat et populus. Post responsum *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, cantando, ad<locum>aliquem deferant in modum Sepulcri compositum, ubi recondatur usque in diem Dominicum. Quo collocato, antiphona *In pace in idipsum*, et responsum *Sepulto Domino* cantetur.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²⁰

Decima hora noctis pauci clerici induti veniant, et Crucifixum cum incenso et thymiamate levantes, antiphonamque *Surrexit Dominus de*

(1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1213; and (2) Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 382 (*olim* Y. 108). On this point I happen not to have precise information at hand. For a bibliography of these manuscripts see *Modern Philology*, VI, 224.

¹⁶ Rouen MS 384 (*olim* Y. 110), fol. 80^r.

¹⁷ This refers to the washing of the Cross at the end of the *Adoratio*.

¹⁸ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum* follows immediately.

¹⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 51–52. Substantially the same text is found in the anonymous twelfth century treatise in Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 36^v. In regard to this manuscript see *Modern Philology*, VI, 202–206.

²⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 53. Substantially the same text is found in Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 37^v.

sepulcro<cantantes>, loco suo honorifice constituent. Post cunctis campanis sonantibus, januas ecclesiæ aperiant, et Matutinas incipiant.

This brief *ordo* for the *Elevatio* provides merely that before Matins on Easter morning a few clerics open the *sepulchrum*, cense the Cross, and carry it to an appropriate place, singing the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*.

The absence of the *Elevatio* from the Rouen service-books that contain the *Depositio* and *Visitatio* is unfortunate, but it does not prove definitely that during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the *Elevatio* was obsolete.²¹ It is, indeed, not easily conceivable that a use preserving the *Depositio* and *Visitatio* should suppress the intermediate office.²²

The close attachment of *Depositio* to *Adoratio* which we have observed in the uses of Winchester and Rouen is further exemplified in a version of the fourteenth century from Durham:²³

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²⁴

ET SCIENDUM QUOD DUM CRUX PORTATUR ET REPORTATUR PER ME <FOL. 177V>
DIUM CHORI, ADORARI DEBET AB OMNIBUS FLEXIS GENIBUS. CUM UERO PER-
UENERINT AD GRADUS PAUIMENTI, PROCEDANT DUO FRATRES CUM CANDELABRIS ET
TERTIUS CUM THURIBULO PRECEDENTES CRUCIS PORTATORES ET EPISCOPUM VEL
PRIOREM, QUI, CUM PORTATORIBUS CRUCIS, CRUCEM IN SEPULCRO COLLOCATURUS
EST. FINITA ANTIOPHONA SUPER OMNIA, INCIPIAT CANTOR RESPONSORIUM:

Tenebre<factæ sunt dum crucifixissent Jesum Judæi, et circa horam
nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna: Deus, Deus, ut quid me dereliquisti?
Tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus ejus perforavit, et inclinato capite

²¹ The bibliography of these service-books is given in *Modern Philology*, VI, 224-225.

²² A suppression of this sort is suggested by the editors of *Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen au XIII^e Siècle*, Vol. I, Rouen, 1907, p. 58.

²³ British Museum, MS Harl. 5289, Missale Dunelmense saec. xiv, fol. 177^r-177^v. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*. So far as I know, the *Depositio* is now printed for the first time. Parts of this manuscript are printed in *Publications of the Surtees Society*, Vol. CVII (1902), pp. 172-191; but the *Depositio* is not included. With the *Depositio* now printed should be compared the sixteenth-century account of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* found in *Surtees Society*, Vol. XV (1842), pp. 9-11 (reprinted by Chambers, II, 310-311), and in a new edition in *Surtees Society*, Vol. CVII (1903), pp. 11-13. With the Durham *Depositio* may be classed a version from Fécamp published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 902.

²⁴ London, Brit. Mus., MS Harl. 5289, fol. 177^r-177^v.

emisit spiritum. *Versus*: Et velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum, et omnis terra tremuit. Tunc unus.²⁶

QUO DECANTATO, COLLOCETUR CRUX IN SEPULCRO, INCENSATO LOCO ANTE POSITIONEM et POST. DUM HEC AGUNTUR INCIPIAT CANTOR HAS *Antiphonas*:

Proprio filio suo non pepercit Deus, pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum.

Antiphona:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

Antiphona:

Dominus tanquam ovis ad uictimam ductus est et non aperuit os suum.

Antiphona:

Oblatus est quod ipse uoluit, et peccata nostra ipse portabit.

Antiphona:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

DEINDE DUO UERTENTES VULTUM AD CONUENTUM CANANT HANC *Antiphonam*:

Ioseph ab Arimathea petiit corpus Ihesu et sepeliuit eum in sepulcro suo.

EAQUE PERCANTATA DESCENDAT IN REUESTIARIUM QUI OFFICIUM CELEBRAT.²⁷

At the conclusion of the *Adoratio*, in this case, is sung the reponsory *Tenebræ*, after which the Cross is placed in the *sepulchrum*, and the place is censed. During the laying down of the Cross are sung a series of five antiphons. Then two clerics, turning toward the *conventus*, close the office with the singing of the antiphon *Joseph ab Arimathea*.

This immediate attachment of the *Depositio* to the *Adoratio* is, however, not general. Appropriate though the *Depositio Crucis* truly is as a direct sequel to the *Adoratio Crucis*, in most cases the extra-liturgical office is separated from the *Adoratio* by other liturgical elements. This is the situation in the following version from a thirteenth-century manuscript of Benedictine use:²⁷

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²⁸

SACERDOTES QUI AD ALTARE DOMINICUM MINISTRABANT, STATIM POST MISSALE OFFICIUM CRUCEM QUAM FRATRES DEOSCOLATI SUNT IN SEPULCHRO HOC ORDINE COLLOCANT.

²⁶ Fifth responsory in Matins of Good Friday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 766-767.

²⁷ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* follows.

²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Liturg. 325 (19414), *Ordinarium Benedictinum* sac. xiii, fol. 78^r. The manuscript is of German origin. See W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, London, 1901, p. 21. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now published, I believe, for the first time. The *Visitatio* from this manuscript has been published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 312.

²⁸ Bodleian, MS Canonici Liturg. 325, fol. 78^r.

DUO EX IPSIS ORDINE PRIORES PORTANT CRUCEM, QUOS ALII TRES CUM TUBULIS ET CANDELABRIS *precedunt*, SACERDOTE *ebdomadario et* ARMARIO ILLOS COMITANTIBUS, SIMULQUE CUM EIS SUPPRESSA VOCE CANTANTIBUS *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor noster, < fons aquæ vivæ, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est; nam et ille captus est, qui captivum tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Salvator noster dirupit. *VERSUS*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius vocem mortui resurgunt, videntes autem eum portæ mortis confractæ sunt. Hodie. >

< ANTIPHONA >:

Joseph ab *Arimathia*.

Antiphona:

Sepulto Domino < signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. >²⁹

INTERIM PONUNT CRUCEM SUPER TAPETE STRATUM IN PAUIMENTO; QUI OPERIENTES LINTEO INCENSANT *et* APPONUNT CEREUM, QUI IUGITER ARDEBIT USQUE DUM IN NOCTE CUM ALIIS EXTINGUATUR.

IPSA VERO CRUX A CUSTODIBUS ECCLESIE IN PASCHALI NOCTE INDE AUFERENDA EST ANTEQUAM PULSETUR AD NOCTURNUM, RELICTO TAMEN LINTEO USQUE DUM IN IPSA NOCTE SEPULCHRUM A FRATRIBUS UISITETUR.³⁰

The *Depositio* is performed immediately at the close of Mass, and the Cross employed appears to be that previously used in the *Adoratio*. The procession, with its musical pieces, is already familiar. The actual burial in the *sepulchrum* appears to be represented in a very simple manner. After being laid upon a carpet spread over the pavement, the Cross is merely covered with a cloth, censed, and provided with a lighted candle.³¹ The *Elevatio* seems to have been performed before Easter Matins silently and secretly. No liturgical pieces are provided. The cloth is left for use in the later *Visitatio*.

At Moosburg, in Bavaria, the *Depositio Crucis* took place after Vespers, as we see from the following:³²

²⁹ Antiphon of Lauds for Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769.

³⁰ Followed immediately by the following rubric: *Communione peracta extinguitur candelis percutitur tabula, ut fiat oratio vespertina.*

³¹ From the *Visitatio*, however, we learn that the *sepulchrum* was a contrivance of some definiteness and amplitude, for it could be entered. See *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIV, 312.

³² Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23068, *Breviarium Moosburgense* saec. xiv, fol. 291^v. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio*. The *Depositio* is now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 295^v) has not been printed; but it is described by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. L (1908), p. 309.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³³

DEINDE RECIPIATUR CRUX ET VOCE LENTA DICATUR *Responsorium*:
 Ecce quomodo moritur.
Responsorium:
 Sepulto Domino.
Responsorium:
 Recessit pastor.
 ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR. SEQUITUR UERSUS:
 In pace factus est locus eius.
 ET SIC EST FINITUM.

From these meagre rubrics we learn little more than that after the laying down of the Cross the *sepulchrum* is sprinkled and censed.

More generous details are provided in the following *ordo* from Andechs.³⁴

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³⁵

COMMUNIONE³⁶ EXPLETA, DICANTUR VESPERE SUBMISSA VOCE, PSALMI CONFITEBOR CUM RELIQUIS. DEINDE SEQUITUR PSALMUS: Magnificat; QUO FINITO DICTUR *uersus* Proprio filio suo non.

SI UERO QUIS INTERFUERIT SEPULTURE, PERACTO OFFICIO SEPULTURE CRUCIFIXI, TUNC SUB SILENCIO CIRCA SEPULCHRUM LEGUNTUR *Vespere* ET CLAUDUNTUR CUM *uersu* In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitacio eius.

DEINDE SEPULCHRO *preparato* ET DECENTER ORNATO, SINT INPROMPTO *tria* THURIBULA CUM INCENSU, THURE, MIRRA, ET THIMIAMATE, ET *quatuor* CANDELE ARDENTES. ET PONTIFEX SIUE *Prespiter* CUM ALIIS *ministris* ET SACERDOTIBUS PORTENT *Ymaginem* CRUCIFIXI UERSUS SEPULCHRUM LUGUBRI VOCE CANTANTES *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus. *Versus*: In pace factus.
 RESPONSORIO FINITO COLLOCETUR *in* SEPULCHRO ET LINTHEAMINIBUS ET SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPERPONATUR. QUO FACTO CLERUS INPONAT ISTA *Responsoria*:

Sepulto Domino. *Versus*: Ne forte.
Responsorium:
 Recessit pastor. *Versus*: Ante cuius.

³³ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23068, fol. 291^v. The text printed above is preceded immediately by the *ordo* for Vespers.

³⁴ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 24882, Breviarium Andecense saec. xv, fol. 269^v. The *Depositio* is now printed for the first time. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 274^r-275^v) is presented by Lange (pp. 99-101; cf. p. 13) by way of incomplete variants appended to another text.

³⁵ Munich, Cod. Lat. 24882, fol. 269^v.

³⁶ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. From the opening rubrics it appears that the *Depositio* is not obligatory. When the *Depositio* occurs, it occupies a position immediately after Mass and before Vespers.

QUIBUS FINITIS DICATUR Versus:

In pace factus est locus eius.

QUO UERSU OMNES SEQUENTES HORE CLAUDUNTUR.³⁷

The *Depositio* is again designed for performance immediately before Vespers. During the singing of the responsory *Ecce quomodo the Imago Crucifixi*³⁸ is carried in procession to the *sepulchrum*. After the *Imago* has been laid down and covered with a linen cloth and sudary, the *sepulchrum* is closed by the placing of a stone.³⁹ The office is concluded by the singing of the responsories *Sepulto Domino* and *Recessit pastor* and of the versicle *In pace factus*.

In the present series of texts belong the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Raitenbuch, in Bavaria.⁴⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁴¹

ET POSTQUAM OMNES COMMUNICAUERINT, ET SACERDOS PEREGERIT OFFICIUM,⁴²
DADAT CUM MINISTRIS ET TOLLAT CRUCIFIXUM QUOD FUERAT ANTEA PRESENTATUM,

³⁷ The rubric *Ad Completorium* follows immediately.

³⁸ The term *Imago Crucifixi*, which we shall frequently encounter below, is far from clear. In most cases it probably indicates merely the Crucifix: that is, the cross with the *corpus* affixed. It may sometimes mean the *corpus* alone, detached from the cross, or even some sort of special representation of the Crucifixion—a painting or a carving. That the words *Imago Crucifixi* may indicate the *corpus* alone seems to be certain from the following passage in the *Custumarium* of Sarum (W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1898, p. 219): "Omnibus dominicis quadragesime, excepta prima dominica, deferatur una crux ante processionem lignea sine ymagine crucifixi." The sixteenth century "Rites of Durham" (*Surtees Society*, Vol. cvii, 1903) speaks of "a goodly large crucifix all of gold of the picture of our sauour Christ nailed upon the crosse" (p. 11), and of "another picture of our sauour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose with great reuerence the most holy and blessed sacrament of the altar" (p. 12). We are told further that "in the north allye was a most faire roode or picture of our sauour" (p. 18). From these passages one infers that the word "picture" of the Durham account refers merely to the ordinary crucifix (See *op. cit.*, p. 204).

³⁹ The use of the *lapis* here motivates, of course, the interrogation *Quis reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?* at the beginning of the subsequent *Visitatio*. See Lange, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 12301, *Breviarium Raitenbuchense* anni 1431, fol. 88^r, 90^r. These texts are now printed for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 90^v) has not been published, but a description of it is given by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 299.

⁴¹ Munich, Cod. lat. 12301, fol. 88^r.

⁴² This rubric shows that the *Depositio* occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificationum* of Good Friday.

PRECEDENTE CANDELA EXTINGCTA et CRUCE UELATA THURIBULO et ASPERSORIO.
DEFERAT AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI CANTANDO LENTA UOCE *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor bonus.

Responsorium:

Anle cuius.

Responsorium:

In pace factus est.

DEINDE LOCATUR CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRO. Et STANTES CITRA DICANT *Vesperas*.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁴³

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTE MATULINUM SURGANT SACERDOTES et CLERICI, et INTRENT ECCLESIAM, NEC ETIAM LAYCOS INTRARE PERMITTANT. Et UADANT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM REUERENTIA, et DICANT PSALMUM: Domine, quid multiplicasti et psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, et psalmum: Domine, probasti me. DEINDE Kyrie, Pater noster. Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos. Versus: Domine, Deus uirtutum conuerte. Versus: Foderunt manus meas. Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem. Oratio: Da nobis. DEINDE CRUX ASPERGATUR et THURIFICELUR. Et TOLLENTES CRUCEM CANTANT *responsorium* SUBMISSA UOCE scilicet:

Dum transisset.

Et dum PERUENERINT AD LOCUM CRUCIFIXI DICATUR Versus:

In resurrectione tua, Xpiste.

Oratio:

Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum.

IBIQUE LINTHEAMINA DIMITTUNT, et post ECCLESIA APPERITUR, et PULSETUR AD MATULINUM.

Since the *Depositio* calls for no special comment, we may confine our attention briefly to the *Elevatio*. This office is performed early Easter morning, before the laymen have been admitted to the church. At the *sepulchrum* three psalms are rendered, followed by the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, four versicles, and a prayer. After the sprinkling and censuring of the Cross, it is raised, during the singing of the responsory *Dum transisset*, and carried in procession to its appropriate place, where the versicle *In resurrectione* and a prayer are said. The cloths are now removed from the Cross, and the doors of the church are opened for Matins.

In the present somewhat miscellaneous group we may include the following versions from Treves:⁴⁴

⁴³ Munich, Cod. lat. 12301, fol. 90^r.

⁴⁴ British Museum, Harleian MS 2958, Ordinarium Treverense saec. xiii, fol. 36^r-37^r. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are, I believe, now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 37^v) has been published by Lange (No. 105, pp. 10, 71-74).

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁴⁵

HIS PERACTIS EXUAT SACERDOS CASULAM ET INDUATUR CAPPÀ PURPUREA ET AD REQUIRENDAM CRUCEM DESCENDATUR HOC ORDINE. *Precedat* ALICUS INDUTUS CAPPÀ CUM AQUA BENEDICTA; SEQUANTUR DUO ACOLITI IN TUNICIS CUM CEREIS, IN MEDIO EORUM ACOLITUS IN CAPPÀ CUM THURIBULO; POST HOS SUBDIACONUS IN SUBTILI CUM TEXTU; DUO ALICI INDUTI TUNICIS A DEXTRIS *et* A SINISTRIS EIUS CUM CRUCIBUS SOLLEMPNIBUS; SEQUATUR DYACONUS IN DALMATICA; DEINDE SACERDOS IN CAPPÀ PROUT DICTUM EST. *Procedant* SIC ORDINATI AD SANCIAM AGNETEM. IBI INUENIRI DEBET CRUX ANTE ALTARE UELATA, QUAM TENEANT A DEXTRIS ET A SINISTRIS DUO SUBDIACONI INDUTI CASULIS RUBEIS. ACCEDAT SACERDOS, ET LEUATO UELAMINE ASPERGAT CRUCEM AQUA BENEDICTA. POST ASPERSIONEM REPONATUR UELAMEN SUPER CRUCEM, ET INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Iherusalem luge;

DEINDE *Uersum*:

Plange quasi uirgo,

QUE CANTENTUR UOCIBUS SUBMISSIS CUM *uersibus* ET REPETITIONIBUS, ET PROCEDAT OMNIS PROCESSIO SUO ORDINE. SUBDIACONI UERO PORTANTES CRUCEM UELATAM IMMEDIATE SEQUANTUR SACERDOTE. CUM PERUENERINT IN CRIPTAM ANTE SEPULCRUM, SACERDOS ASPERGAT SEPULCRUM AQUA BENEDICTA ET THURIFICET. DEINDE CRUX PONATUR IN SEPULCRUM ET UELETUR PANNIO ALBO, ET INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus,

UOCE SUBMISSA CUM *uersu* ET REPETITIONE. POST MODUM CLAUDATUR SEPULCRUM, ET INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

CUM *uersu* ET REPETITIONE. SACERDO<S> UERO DICAT VERSICULUM:

In pace factus est locus eius.

ET<FOL. 36^v>RESPONDEATUR:

Et in Syon habitatio eius.

QUIBUS PERACTIS EGREDIATUR PROCESSIO.⁴⁶

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁴⁷

IN DIE SANCTO PASCE MANE ANTE PULSATIONEM MATUTINI REVERTATUR PROCESSIO AD SEPULCRUM SICUT PROCESSIT AD SEPELIENDUM. *Et* SACERDOS FLEXIS GENIBUS DICAT ORATIONES *et* ASPERGAT AQUA BENEDICTA CRUCEM *et* THURIFICABIT; *et* OBLATO UELAMINE DICAT *uersum*:

Surrexit Dominus uere,

LEUANDO CRUCEM. *Et* CANTOR IMMEDIATE INCIPIAT *antiphonam*:

Xpistuc resurgens,

et uersum:

Dicant nunc,

⁴⁵ MS Harl. 2958, fol. 36^r-36^v. The present text is immediately preceded by this rubric: *Deinde Sacerdos in altari Vesperas concludat.*

⁴⁶ Followed immediately by the rubric: *Sabbato Sancto ad Matutinum.*

⁴⁷ MS Harl. 2958, fol. 37^r.

CUM REPETITIONE. DEINDE EGREDIATUR PROCESSIO, RELICTO SUDARIO IN MONUMENTO, ET PULSETUR AD MATUTINUM.

The most conspicuous aspect of this office is the location of the *sepulchrum*: in the crypt of the church. Neither the *Depositio*, after Vespers, nor the *Elevatio*, before Matins, includes any unusual ceremonial. Noteworthy, perhaps, is the fact that when the Cross is taken up from the *sepulchrum*, the *sudarium* is left behind, for use in the subsequent *Visitatio*.⁴⁸

We may now consider a few texts that specifically provide for a bit of ceremonial reminiscent of the central act of the *Adoratio Crucis*,—the definite adoring of the Cross. This ceremonial detail is present in the *Depositio* from Clermont-Ferrand:⁴⁹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>

TUNC CRUX TOLLATUR ET DEPORTETUR IN SACRARIO, ET SEQUATUR AB OMNI CLERO CANTANDO:

Sepulto Domino.

IBIQUE DEPONATUR ET COOPERIATUR, ADORETUR, VENERETUR, INLUMINETUR; ET IBI STET USQUE IN DIEM RESURRECTIONIS.⁵⁰

In this simple office the Cross is borne, immediately after Vespers, to the sacristy. In the laying down of the Cross specific provision is made for an "adoration."

Similar reverence to the Cross is provided for in the use of the cathedral of Freising.⁵¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁵²

QUANDO IMAGO CRUCIFIXI DEFERTUR AD SEPULCHRUM CANITUR
responsorium:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus,

⁴⁸ See Lange, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁹ Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 63 (*olim* 58), Missale Claromontense saec. xiv, fol. 32^v. This text is now printed for the first time. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*.

⁵⁰ Followed immediately by the rubric: In Sabbato Sancto.

⁵¹ *Breviarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516 (British Museum), fol. 194^v, 196^v-197^r. These texts are now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 197^v-198^r) is reprinted by Lange, pp. 102-103. With the *Elevatio* may be compared the text from Indersdorf published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 904-905.

⁵² *Breviarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516, fol. 194^v.

SUBMISSA VOCE. COLLOCATA IMAGINE AD SEPULCHRUM *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

ET *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor,

UT INFRA SABBATO SEQUENTI. DEINDE *versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius. Et habitatio eius in Sion.⁴²

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁴³

IN NOCTE SANCTA ANTE PULSUM MATUTI<NI>, CONGREGATIS SACERDOTIBUS CIRCA ALTARE SANCTE CRUCIS, DECANUS CONSUEVIT DICERE Confiteor, et cetera. RELIQUI SUBIUNGUNT: Misereatur, et cetera; et REPETUNT Confiteor, <POL. 197> SICUT ANTE MISSAM.

DEINDE REUERENTER ACCEDUNT SEPULCHRUM ET IBIDEM DICUNT:

Psalmum: Domine, quid multiplicati.

Psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere.

Psalmum: Domine, probasti me, cum Gloria.

Kiri<e eleyson>, Chri<ste eleyson>, Kiri<e eleyson>.

Pater noster. Et ne<nos inducas in tentationem>.

Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos.

Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus vobiscum.

COLLECTA:

Da nobis, quesumus, Domine, auxilium gratie tue, ut paschalia gaudia que letantes exequimur perpetua virtute nos tueantur et saluent. Per Christum.

FINITA COLLECTA, THURIFICATUR ET ASPERGITUR IMAGO CRUCIFIXI, DEFERTURQUE AD ALTARE PREFATUM CANENTIBUS CLERICIS SUBMISSA VOCE *responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus,

UT INFRA FERIA QUINTA. *Antiphona*:

Christus resurgens,

UT INFRA IN *Vesperis*. *Versus*:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia. Et apparuit Petro, alleluia.

COLLECTA:

Deus in hodierna,

UT IN MATUTINO. QUIBUS PERACTIS MAIOR OSCULATUR IMAGINEM ET DICIT:

Surrexit Dominus.

Gaudeamus omnes.

SIMILITER ET ALIJ FACIUNT.⁴⁴

Although the Freising *Depositio* needs no comment, we may give at least passing notice to the *Elevatio*, performed before Easter Matins. After the *Confiteor* at the altar of the Holy Cross, the priests pass to the *sepulchrum*, where they say three

⁴² Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Ves<peras>.

⁴³ *Breuiarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516, fol. 196^v-197^r.

⁴⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matuti<num>.

psalms, the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, and another prayer. During the singing of the responsory *Surrexit pastor* the *Imago Crucifixi*, previously censed and sprinkled, is carried to the altar of the Holy Cross. Here are rendered an antiphon and a prayer. The office closes with the kissing of the *Imago Crucifixi* by each of the priests in turn, a ceremonial act suggestive of the *Adoratio*.

Relevant to the present stage of our survey are the following two texts from Prague:⁵⁶

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁵⁷

STATIM POST *Vesperas* EUNT IN MEDIUM ECCLESIE et ACCEPTA CRUCE DEFERANT EA <M> IN LOCUM SOLEMNIBUS AULEIS ORNATUM CANTANTES *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur,

CUM SUO *versu*, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS, CRUCIBUS, AQUA BENEDICTA, et INCENSO. ET REPOSITA IN LOCO CUM REUERENTIA A PRELATO ASPERGITUR et INCENSATUR, AC COOPERITUR SACRA PALLA, et DICITUR *versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius. Et in Sy<on> habitatio ejus>.

REDEUNTES CANTENT *Responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

CUM *versu* ET REPETITIONE. LUMEN ARDENS REPONITUR AD SEPULCRUM DOMINI, et LEGANT CANONICI A SENIORIBUS INCIPIENDO PSALTERIA VEL VICARII CANONICORUM SEDENTES AD SEPULCRUM BINI ET BINI USQUE AD VISITATIONE <M> SEPULCHRI MATUTINALEM.⁵⁸

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁵⁹

IN SACRA NOCTE ANTE MATUTINUM MAGNA CAMPANA⁶⁰ PULSATUR, AD QUAM DOMINI CANONICI et CLERICI CONSURGANT et EANT AD SEPULCRUM IN PROCESSIONE PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS, VEXILL<IS>, INCENSO, ET AQUA BENEDICTA. ET ACCEPTA CRUCE REDEUNTES CANTENT *antiphonam*:

Cum rex glorie.

ET PONITUR ANTE MAIUS ALTARE, IBIQUE A CLERO et POPULO SALUTATA STATUITUR IN LOCUM SUUM.⁶¹

⁵⁶ *Breuiarium Horarum Canoniarum secundum veram rubricam Archiepiscopus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 199^v, 270^v (British Museum). The *Depositi*o and *Elevati*o are now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitati*o (fol. 271^r-271^v), not yet reprinted, is identical with the *Visitati*o published by Lange (pp. 122-124) from a Prague "Brevier, 1572" (See Lange, p. 15, No. 194).

⁵⁷ *Breuiarium* . . . *Archiepiscopatus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 199^v.

⁵⁸ Immediately followed by the rubric: Completo<rium> ut iero cantetur in choro.

⁵⁹ *Breuiarium* . . . *Archiepiscopatus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 270^v.

⁶⁰ campana] campanam (Print).

⁶¹ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matu<tinum>.

In the case of the Prague *Depositio* we may confine our comment to the observation that a light is placed before the closed *sepulchrum*, and that here the canons, two by two, say the psalter continuously until Easter morning.⁶² The notable aspects of the *Elevatio* are the adoration of the Cross at the main altar and the singing of the processional antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ*, the latter embodying the theme of the Harrowing of Hell.⁶³

An additional consideration arises in connection with the following versions from Ranshofen.⁶⁴

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁶⁵

DEINDE SEPULCHRO PREPARATO ET DECENTER ORNATO, SINT IMPROMPTU TYIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSU ET THIMIAMATE, ET IIII^{te} CANDELE ARDENTES. ET PONTIFEX SIUE PRESBYTER CUM ALIIS SACERDOTIBUS ET MINISTRIS PORTENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI VERSUS SEPULCRUM LUGUBRI VOCE CANTANTES HOC RESPONSORIUM:

Responsorium: Ecce quomodo moritur. *Versus:* In pace factus.

RESPONSORIO FINITO COLLOCETUR IN SEPULCHRO ET LINTEAMINIBUS ET SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPERPONATUR. QUO FACTO CLERUS IMPONAT RESPONSORIA ISTA:

Responsorium: Sepulto Domino. *Versus:* Ne forte.

Responsorium: Recessit pastor. *Versus:* Ante cuius.

QUIBUS FINITIS DICATUR VERSUS:

Versus: In pace factus.

POSTEA SEQUITUR VESPERA SUPPRESSA VOCE DICENDA.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁶⁶

IN SANCTA NOCTE AD MATUTINAS CLAM SURGITUR, SINTQUE PARATA TRIA THURIBULA CUM THURE ET MIRRA ET THIMIAMATE. ET DOMINUS PREPOSITUS CUM SENIORIBUS QUOS ASSUMERE VOLUERIT CUM MAGNA REVERENTIA ACCEDANT AD SEPULCRUM ET STANTES CANTANT:

*Domine, probasti.*⁶⁷

ET THURIFICENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI, SUBLATAMQUE DE SEPULCHRO SECUM PORTANT IN CHORUM ANTE ALTARE PER VIAM CANTANDO HUMILI VOCE RESPONSORIUM:

⁶² See above, p. 14.

⁶³ See above, p. 31.

⁶⁴ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 12635, Ordinarium Ranshofenense saec. xiii, pp. 56, 59. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now printed for the first time. The *Visitatio* (pp. 59–60), though described by N. C. Brooks (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 309), has not yet been published.

⁶⁵ Munich, Cod. lat. 12635, p. 56. This text is immediately preceded by the Communion of the *Missa Prasancificatorum*.

⁶⁶ Munich, Cod. lat. 12635, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Ps. cxxxviii.

Surrexit pastor bonus <qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia>,⁶⁸
cum suo uersu:

Versus: Surrexit Dominus <de sepulcro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno>.⁶⁹

Antiphona:

Xpistuc resurgens.

QUIBUS FINITIS STANTES ANTE ALTARE *et* MUTUA CARITATE SE INUICEM OSCULANTES DICUNT *Uersum:*

Surrexit Dominus uere, et apparuit Symoni.

ET DICATUR ORATIO DE RESURRECTIONE. DEINDE COMPULSATIONE SIGNORUM FACIA, CONVENIANT OMNES AD MATULINUM.

In the use of Ranshofen the detail of special interest for the moment, is the Kiss of Peace administered at the end of the *Elevatio*. Since, however, the associations of the *Pax* have been considered in the preceding division of this study,⁷⁰ we need not re-examine the matter here, but may merely observe the same phenomenon in the fifteenth-century observances of Regensburg:⁷¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁷²

POSTQUAM OMNES COMMUNICAUERINT, UENIANT SACERDOTES CUM MINISTRIS ALTARIS *et* CETERIS CANONICIS INSTANTIBUS CUM MAGNA REUERENTIA, PRECEDENTIBUS DUABUS CRUCIBUS UELATIS ET UNA CANDELA EXTINGTA *et* ASPERSORIO ET THURIBULO. ET TOLLANT CRUCIFIXUM QUOD ANTE FUIT PRESENTATUM ET DEFERANT AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI *et* CANTANDO⁷³ LENTA UOCE *Responsorium:*

Recessit pastor. Versus: Ante cuius conspectum.

Sequitur Responsorium:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus. Versus: In pace factus.

TUNC LOCENT CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRO. ET STANTES CIRCA DICANT *Vesperas.*

⁶⁸ See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.

⁶⁹ See *id.*

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 45, 65-67.

⁷¹ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 26947, *Ordinarium Ratisbonense* saec. xv, fol. 117^v, 120^v-121^r. The *Deposito* and *Elevatio* are now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* has been published by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 298-299. With the *Deposito* and *Elevatio* from Regensburg and Ranshofen may be compared the versions from other churches published by the present writer in the following places: *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 899, 906-908; *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 313; *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXV, 343, 351-354.

⁷² Munich, Cod. lat. 26947, fol. 117^v. The text is immediately preceded by the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

⁷³ *cantando*] *cantanda* (MS).

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁷⁴

IN NOCTE ANTE MATUTINAS SURGANT FRATRES IN MONASTERIUM INTRANSES,
NEC ALIQUEM LAYCORUM INGREDI PERMITTUNT. TUNC UADUNT AD SEPULCHRUM
CUM MAGNA REUERENCIA, ET FACIANT ORATIONES. DEINDE CANTORES PSALMOS:

Domine, quid multipli<fol. 121'>cati.

Psalmus: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere.

Psalmus: Domine, probasti.

Kyrie.

Pater Noster.

Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos.

Versus: Domine, Deus uirtutum, conuerte nos.

Versus: Foderunt manus.

Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem.

Versus: Da nobis, Domine, auxilium.

DEINDE CRUX ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR. DEINDE TOLLANT CRUCEM ET
CANTANT *Responsorium*:

Dum transisset Sabbatum, <Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome
emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jesum, alleluia, alleluia.

Versus: Et valde mane una Sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum,
orto jam sole. Ut venientes.> ,

SUBMISSA VOCE. DUM PERUENERINT AD LOCUM CRUCIFIXI SACERDOS SUBIUNGAT
VERSUM:

In resur<r>ectione tua, Xpiste.

SEQUITUR ORATIO:

Deus, qui hodierna die.

IBIQUE LINTHEAMINA ET LUMINA DIMITTANTUR. POSTEA IUBENT IANUAS APERIRI
ET MATUTINAS SONARE. POST HEC CLERUS MUTUA CARITATE SE INVICEM
OSCULANTES DICANT VERSUM:

Surrexit Dominus.

ALII RESPONDEANT:

Guadeamus omnes.

DEINDE AD MATUTINAS VERSUS: Domine, labia mea.

Hitherto in the present section of our study we have encountered only a slight suggestion of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell. Although we have observed the presence of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae*,⁷⁵ we have seen no evidence of a treatment of the theme dramatically. For a treatment of this kind we may resort to the use of St. Gall:⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Munich, Cod. lat. 26947, fol. 120^v-121^r.

⁷⁵ See above, p. 87.

⁷⁶ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 448, Ordinarium Sangallense saec. xv, pp. 102, 105. The *Depositiō*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from this manuscript have been previously published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 319-324.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁷⁷

*Antiphona*⁷⁸ FINITA, OMNES ASCENDUNT CIRCA ALTARE ET DOMINUS ABBAS EXUENS CASULAM, STANTES ANTE CRUCEM AD DEXTRUM⁷⁹ CORNU ALTARIS CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo, SUBMISSA UOCE. *Versus*: In pace factus. Repeticio: Et erit.

POST ACCIPENTES CRUCEM DOMINUS ABBAS ET SENIORES PORTANTES AD SEPULCHRUM CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Sicut ouis. *Versus*: In pace. Repeticio: Traditus.

INTERIM PONENT CRUCEM IN SEPULCHRO ET CLAUDUNT EUM, PONENTES ANTE SEPULCHRUM QUATUOR LUMINA IUGITER ARDENTIA, CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino. *Versus*: Ne forte. Repeticio: Ponentes mi<lites>. DEINDE DOMINUS ABBAS DICAT *versum*:

In pace factus est locus eius.

Collecta:

Respice, Domine.

ET ASPERGENS SEPULCRUM AQUA BENEDICIA, ET THURIFICETUR CUM INCENSU, ET MISSE FUNT.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁸⁰

ORDO AD LEVANDUM CRUCEM SANCIAM IN SACRATISSIMA NOCTE PASCALI.

PARUM ANTE MATUTINAS DOMINUS ABBAS, PREPOSITUS DECANUS, CUSTOS, ET SENIORES AD HOC DEPUTATI SURGANT DILUCULO, ET INDUUNT SE ALBIS ET CAPPIS, PERGENTES CUM SUMMA REUERENCIA, CUM MINISTRIS PORTANTES AQUAM BENEDICIAM CUM INCENSU, ET CUM SILENCIO, AD SEPULCRUM. ET DOMINUS ABBAS CUM SUMMO HONORE TOTAEQUE DEUITIONE FLEXIS GENIBUS DEONAT SUDARIUM ET LINTEAMINA CUM QUIBUS SANCTA CRUX EST INUOLUTA, ET ASPERGENS AQUA BENEDICIA ET THURIFICETUR CUM INCENSU, ET CANTENT SUBMISSA UOCE:

Xpiste, salus rerum. *Versus*: Pollicitam, usque Surge, sepulte meus.

ET ELEVANTES CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO CANTENT HOS *versus*:

Solue catenatus.

Versus:

Redde tuam faciem.

QUIBUS FINITIS, CANTATUR *antiphona*:

Cum rex glorie,

SUBMISSA UOCE, PORTANTES CRUCEM ANTE CHORUM IN MONASTERIO. *Antiphona* FINITA, CANTANT *antiphonam*:

Attollite portas prin<cipes>,

TRIBUS VICIBUS, PULSANTES CONTRA IANUAM CUM PEDE CRUCIS IN SIGNUM REDEMPTIONIS ANIMARUM EX LIMBO. AD ISTUM PULSUM IANUA APERITUR. POSTEA PONATUR CRUX ANTE ALTARE BEATE VIRGINIS, PANNI SUPPOSITO AC LUMINE ACCENSO, UT A POPULIS ADORETUR. DEINDE DOMINUS ABBAS DICA<T> *versum*:

⁷⁷ St. Gall, MS 448, p. 102.

⁷⁸ The antiphon of the *Magnificat* at Vespers.

⁷⁹ dextrum] dextram (MS).

⁸⁰ St. Gall, MS 448, p. 105.

In resurrectione tua, Xpiste.

Collecta:

Presta, quesumus, omnipotens Deus.

HYS FINITIS, ADORENT CRUCEM OSCULANDO AC RIGANDO LACRIMIS UULNERA EIUS.
ET TUNC FIAT COMPULSATIO OMNIUM CAMPANARUM, PULSANTQUE TRIBUS UICIBUS
IN SIGNUM RESURRECTIONIS. POST HOC PULSANTUR MATUTINE.

Confining our attention to the *Elevatio*, we note that this office occupies the usual position before Easter Matins. After reaching the *sepulchrum* in procession, the abbot removes the sudary and linen from the Cross, and sprinkles and censes it. These acts, together with the raising of the Cross aloft, are accompanied by the singing of liturgical verses. With the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* the Cross is conducted to the door of the choir. Here the antiphon *Attollite portas* is sung thrice, and the door is struck thrice with the shaft of the Cross, *in signum redemptionis animarum ex Limbo*. At the third striking the door is opened, and the Cross is placed before the altar of the Blessed Virgin for adoration by the congregation.

In brief summary we may observe that the versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* reviewed in the present section of this study differ from those in the preceding section in nothing fundamental. The versions before us range in date from the tenth century to the sixteenth, and they come to us from England, France, Germany, and Switzerland. A clear majority of them, however, are of South German provenience. As we should expect, the burial and raising of the Cross bear conspicuous evidence of influence from the *Adoratio Crucis*. For their content these versions borrow traditional liturgical pieces from the *Graduale* and the *Liber Responsalis*. From the point of view of the history of the drama, however, the most important aspect of these versions is the prevailing absence of dialogue and the complete absence of unequivocal impersonation.

V

Now that we have examined the versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the Host and the Cross respectively are the centers of devotion, we must complete our survey by considering the versions in which are employed both the Host and the Cross, along with an inevitable extension of the ceremonial.

A simple *Depositio* of this type is at hand from the use of St. Adelph:¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²

POSTEA VADUNT CUM CANDELIS ARDENTIBUS ET INCENSU <fol. 41v> AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI ET IMPONANT CRUCEM CUM EUCHARISTIA. IN EUNDO CANTETUR *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; et viri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblati est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitatio eius. Et erit.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor noster, fons aque vive, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captivum tenebat primum hominem, hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius vocem mortui resurgunt, videntes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Ho <die>.

IMPOSITA AUTEM CRUCE, CANTENTUR HEC ANTIPHONAE. *Antiphona*:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

Antiphona:

Caro <fol. 42r> mea requiescet in spe.

SUDARIO SUPERPOSITO, CANTETUR *Responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, volentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. *Versus*: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

SEQUUNTUR VESPERAE³ SUB SILENTIO.

¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS latin 9486, Ordinarium saec. xii, fol. 41^r-42^r. L. Delisle (*Inventaire des Manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les Numéros 8823-18613*, Paris, 1863-1871, p. 35) mentions this document briefly as "Rituel de l'abb. de S. Adelphe." The manuscript contains no *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 60^r-60^v) has been published by N. C. Brooks in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 466. Both the *Depositio* and the *Visitatio* are printed by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV, 341-342, 351.

² Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 9486, fol. 41^r-42^r. The text printed here is immediately preceded by the following rubric: Tunc accedant omnes ad communionem—referring to the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

³ *Vesperae* [*Vespera* (MS).]

This office occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. The Cross and the Host are carried to the *sepulchrum* in a single procession. For the laying down of the Host no special rubrics are given. The burial of the Cross evokes at least the ceremonial of wrapping it in a *sudarium*. The musical pieces accompanying the action are already familiar.

A similar version of the *Depositio*, with a fuller description of the ceremonial, is seen in the following from the use of Aquileia:⁴

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁵

FINITO HYMN⁶ INCIPIT OFFICIUM DIEI, UT IN MISSALI CONTINETUR. ORATIONE⁷ VERO EXPLETA, et SEPULCHRO PREPARATO et DECENTER ORNATO, ASSINT INPROMPTU TRIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSO THURIS, MIRRHE, et THIMIAMATIS, et QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES; et MINISTRI CUM SACERDOTIBUS PORTENT IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, et OFFICIANS SEQUATUR PORTANS SACRAMENTUM EUCHARISTIE IN SANCTUARIO REPOSITUM. CHORUS VERO IN TALI PROCESSIONE LUGUBRI VOCE CANTET RESPONSORIUM CUM SUO VERSU:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; et viri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iu <p. 121> stus, et erit in pace memoria eius. <VERSUS>: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitatio eius. Et erit in pace.

QUO FINITO et dum AD SEPULCHRUM VENTUM SIT, OFFICIANS LOCET SACRAMENTUM IN SANCTUARIO REPOSITUM⁸ AD LOCUM IN SEPULCHRO AD HOC PARATUM. DEINDE MINISTRI, et SACERDOTES IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI COLLOCENT IN SEPULCHRO, et COOPERIANT LINTHEAMINIBUS et SUDARIO, et SUPPONANT LAPIDEM. CHORUS CANTET *Responsorium* CUM SUO VERSU:

Recessit pastor noster, fons aque viue, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est; nam et ille captus est qui captium tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Saluator noster destruxit. <p. 122> *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius vocem mortui resurgunt; videntes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Hodie portas.

OFFICIANS VERO THURIFICET IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI SIC IN SEPULCHRUM POSITAM, et ASPERGAT AQUA BENEDICTA. ET POSTEA CLAUDITUR SEPULCHRUM, et CLAUSO APPONUNT SIGILLA OFFICIANTES et LAICI PRESIDENTES, et CHORUS CANTET RESPONSORIUM SEQUEM CUM SUO VERSU:

⁴ *Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis*, Venice, 1575, pp. 120–123 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). The *Depositio* is now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitatio* (pp. 115–117) has been published by Lange (No. 167, pp. 13, 105–106). The edition of 1575 contains (pp. 112–115) also an *Elevatio*; but the only copy of this edition accessible to me lacks the pages (pp. 113–114) containing the greater part of this office.

⁵ *Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis*, Venice, 1575, pp. 120–123.

⁶ The *Cruz fidelis*, closing the *Adoratio Crucis*.

⁷ The closing *Oratio* of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

⁸ repositum] reposito (*Agenda*).

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. <VERSUS>: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. <p. 123>

QUO FINITO OFFICIANS DICAT VERSICULUM:

In pace factus est locus eius.

Et RESPONDENT MINISTRI et SACERDOTES:

Et habitatio eius in Syon.

TANDEM CIRCA SEPULCHRUM DICANTUR VESPERE SECUNDUM RUBRICAM BREVIARIUM. ET SUB Magnificat OFFICIANS et MINISTRI CUM TRIBUS THURIBULIS SEPULCHRUM THURIFICENT et SACERDOS ACQUA BENEDICTA ASPERGAT. FINITIS AUTEM VESPERIS, SCHOLARES SECUNDUM MOREM PATRIE INCIPIUNT LEGERE PSALTERIUM.

The office here occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. In the procession to the *sepulchrum* the ministers of the Mass carry the *Imago Crucifixi*, and the officiant,⁹ the Host.¹⁰ The first deposits the Host in a part of the *sepulchrum* especially prepared for it. Then the ministers and priests, after laying down the *Imago Crucifixi*, cover it with cloths and the sudary,¹¹ and place over it a stone.¹² After censuring and sprinkling the *Imago*, they seal the *sepulchrum*. The musical pieces accompanying the action require no comment. The most notable aspect of this version is the distinctness with which the Host and Cross are separated in their ceremonials.

In association with these two versions of the *Depositio* we may appropriately consider one or two relatively simple texts of the *Elevatio*. Such a text may be seen in the following from Harlem, in Holland:¹³

⁹ I take this to be the priest who has officiated at the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

¹⁰ I am not absolutely certain of the meaning of the phrase *in sanctuario repositum*, which occurs twice. The word *sanctuarium* may indicate the sacristy, or place of reservation, in which the special (third) Host was reserved from Holy Thursday; but the word may also indicate (see Du Cange) a *theca*, or box, for carrying the Host in the procession before us.

¹¹ In the *Visitatio* occurs (p. 117) the rubric *lintheamina et sudarium quibus Imago Domini erat inuoluta*, indicating that only the *Imago*, and not the Host, is covered in this way.

¹² The rubric may intend that the *lapis* for closing the door of the *sepulchrum* confines within the structure only the *Imago*, the Host being exposed upon a sepulchre—altar outside.

¹³ Harlem, Bischöfliches Museum, MS 258, Graduale Harlemense (?) saec. xiii, fol. 44^v. This text of the *Elevatio* has been previously printed by Lange

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁴

ORDO IN DIE RESURRECTIONIS.

IN DIE DOMINICE RESURRECTIONIS ANTE MATUTINUM TEMPUS Presbyteri
VISITENT SEPULCHRUM CUM THURIBULIS CANTANDO *responsorium*:

Angelus Domini.¹⁵

EXTOLLANT *etiam* CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO CUM EUCHARISTIA *et* IN ALIO LOCO
PONANT CUM REVERENTIA.

According to these meagre rubrics the *Elevatio* is found in the normal liturgical position, before Easter Matins, and provides merely a simple procession of priests who visit the *sepulchrum* and carry the Host and Cross thence to a place not specified. In its general simplicity, and in its use of the responsory *Angelus Domini*, the version before us resembles the *Elevatio* printed above from a manuscript of the eleventh century from St. Gall,¹⁶ the latter text being found in a position before the *Te Deum* at the *end* of Easter Matins. The resemblance between the two versions suggests the possibility that at an early period the *Elevatio* normally occurred at the *end* of Matins, and that it was transferred to a place *before* Matins in order to make way, at the *Te Deum*, for a newly invented *Visitatio*.¹⁷

Another simple version of the *Elevatio* is found at Klosterneuburg in the following form:¹⁸

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁹

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTEQUAM SONENTUR MATUTINE, PRELATUS ALIQUIBUS
SIBI ADIUNCTIS CORPUS DOMINICUM ET CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO TOLLANT CUM

(No. 142, pp. 12, 93), along with the *Visitatio*. I print from a photograph of the manuscript page. Whether the manuscript contains a text of the *Deposilio*, I do not know.

¹⁴ Harlem, MS 258, fol. 44^v.

¹⁵ For the complete responsory see above, p. 30.

¹⁶ See above, p. 30.

¹⁷ See above, pp. 31, 72, and below, p. 123.

¹⁸ H. Pfeiffer's article *Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel* (*Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Vol. I, Vienna, 1908, pp. 1–56) supersedes all previous publication upon the Easter liturgical plays of Klosterneuburg, in Austria, and provides bibliography. Since I have not had access to the manuscripts of this monastery, I reprint the *Elevatio* as published by Pfeiffer (p. 16) from MS 629, fol. 102^r–103^r, of the fifteenth century. From this manuscript he prints (pp. 16–18) also the *Visitatio*. Although it appears (Pfeiffer, p. 20, note 2) that the Klosterneuburg manuscripts contain texts of the *Deposilio*, he prints none of them.

¹⁹ Klosterneuburg MS 629, fol. 102^r–103^r.

DEUOTIONE ET REVERENTIA, ADOLENTES ET ASPERGENTES EA, AC CANENTES
SUB SILENCIO RESPONSORIUM:

Surrexit pastor bonus, qui posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis; et pro
suo grege mori dignatus est, aeuia, <fol. 102^v> aeuia, aeuia. <Versus>:
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Et pro.

DEINDE HOS PSALMOS CANTENT:

Conserva me, Domine. <fol. 103^r>
Domine, probasti me.

REQUIRE IN PARASCEVE.

VERSICULA:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, alleluja. Qui pro nobis pependit in
ligno, alleluja.

ORATIO:

Oremus: Deus qui hodierno die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis nobis
aditum devicta morte reserasti, vota nostra, quae praeveniando aspiras
eciam adiuvando proseguere. Per eundem Dominum.

This office occurs before Matins. During the singing of the
responsory *Surrexit pastor* the abbot, accompanied by other
clerics, takes the Cross and Host from the *sepulchrum* and
places them in some appropriate place. The observance con-
cludes with the rendering of two psalms, a versicle, and a prayer.

We have already noticed a tendency to discriminate clearly
between the Host and the Cross in the ceremonial.²⁰ This
distinction is particularly evident in the following version of
the *Elevatio* from Augsburg:²¹

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²²

IN IPSA NOCTE, MATTUTINA LUCE APPROPINQUANTE, CUSTODES ECCLESIE CUM
SACERDOTIBUS MATURIUS ANTE ALIOS SURGENTES CONVENIANT IN ECCLESIAM.
ET LOTIS MANIBUS, CUM CEREIS DUOBUS ET THURIBULIS ET AQUA BENEDICTA REVER-
ENTER, QUASI SECRETO, PROCEDANT AD LOCUM UBI CRUX ET CORPUS DOMINI IN
SEXTA FERIA FUERANT TUMULATA. ASPERSA AUTEM ET THURIFICATA CRUCE,
MAIOR INTER SACERDOTES REVERENTISSIME TOLLAT CALICEM CUM CORPORE
DOMINI; CETERI UERO CRUCEM PORTENT. SINDONE QUA FUIT COOPERTA IN IPSO
LOCO RELICTA, ET LUMINIBUS, NE LOCUS DESPECTUS VIDEATUR, PRECEDENTIBUS
CEREIS ET INCENSO PORTENT ILLAM AD ALTARE UBI OFFICIUM EST PERAGENDUM
SUBMISSA VOCE CANTANTES Responsorium:

Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit animam,

²⁰ See the texts from St. Adelphe and Aquileia, above, pp. 92-94.

²¹ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 226, Rationale Officiorum Divinorum
Augustanense saec. xi-xii, fol. 10^r. The *Elevatio* is now published for the first
time. The manuscript contains no *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 10^v-11^r) is
printed by Lange (No. 110, pp. 82-83).

²² Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 226, fol. 10^r

CUM VERSU:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

SEQUITUR ORATIO:

Deus, qui unigenitum.

ET COOPERIATUR CRUX DE LINTEO MUNDO. CALIX AUTEM CUM CORPORE DOMINI REPONATUR IN PRINCIPALI ALTARE DONEC ALICUI DETUR AD CONSUMENDUM. QUO FACTO REVERTANTUR IN CHORUM ET OMNES MUTUA CARITATE SE²³ INVICEM OSCULENTUR. EI DICAT PRIOR:

Surrexit Xpistuc.

RESPONDENT:

Gaudeamus omnes.

ET STATIM COMPULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA SOLLEMNISSIME AD EXCITANDUM ET CONVOCAVENDUM; ET INTERVALLO MODICO FACTO, BINA ET BINA SIGNA MOROSIUS PULSENTUR; ET IN FINE ILLORUM RURSUS COMPULSETUR. ET IMPONAT SACERDOS TONALI VOCE:

Domine, labia mea aperies.

This office is performed privately before Easter Matins. After being sprinkled and censed, the Cross is taken up from the *sepulchrum* by the assistant clerics. Leaving behind the winding sheet, they carry the Cross to a special altar.²⁴ Here a prayer is said, and the Cross covered with a clean cloth. The chalice containing the Host²⁵ is taken up separately by the senior priest, and placed upon the main altar. The *ordo* provides that the Host shall be left upon the main altar until it is given to an appropriate person to be consumed. After these ceremonials the procession returns to the choir, where the *Pax* is given and a versicle and response delivered.

In the following versions from York the separation between Host and Cross is extreme:²⁶

²³ se] si (MS).

²⁴ I infer that this is an altar connected with the *sepulchrum*. It may, however, be the *allare majus*.

²⁵ That the Host is carried *within* the chalice may fairly be inferred from the rubric *Calix autem cum Corpore Domini*. See above, p. 50. It may, however, be intended merely that the chalice *accompany* the Host. See below, p. 102.

²⁶ *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, Vol. LXIII, 1875, pp. 163-164, 170-174. This edition of the *Manuale* is based upon that of Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1509. The *Depositi*, but not the *Elevatio*, is found also in *Missale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, Vol. LIX, 1874, pp. 106-107. The liturgical documents of York contain no *Visitatio*.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²⁷

TANDEM ADORATA CRUCE BAJULANT EAM DUO PRESBYTERI ASCENDENTES
PER PARTEM AQUILONAREM CHORI USQUE AD SEPULCHRUM, ET IBI SACERDOS
INCIPIAT ANTIPHONA<M>:

Super omnia ligna cedrorum tu sola excelsior, in qua vita mundi pepen-
dit, in qua Christus triumphavit, et mors mortem superavit in æternum.

ANTIPHONA:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

ANTIPHONA:

Habitavit in tabernaculo tuo; requiescet in monte sancto tuo.

ANTIPHONA:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

POSTEA EXSECUTOR OFFICII GENUFLECTENS PONAT CRUCEM IN SEPULCHRO, ET
THURIFICET EAM, ET ERECTUS INCIPIAT, ET CHORUS FINIAT:

Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum; ponentes milites qui
custodirent illud.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²⁸

IN AURORA PULSATIS CAMPANIS AD CLASSICUM, CONGREGATO CLERO ET POPULO,
FLEXIS GENIBUS DICITUR ORATIO DOMINICALIS; ET POSTEA SACERDOS THURIFICET
SEPULCRUM, ET PROFERATUR SACRAMENTUM CUM IMAGINE CUM CORONA SPINEA.
INCIPIATUR RESPONSORIUM: Christus regnat, QUOD CANTETUR CIRCA FONTEM,
CEREIS PRÆCEDENTIBUS. RESPONSORIUM:

Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur; mors illi ultra non
dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, alleluja, alleluja. V<ER-
sus>: Dicant nunc Judæi quomodo milites custodientes Sepulchrum
perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem. Quare non servabant petram
justitiæ? Aut sepultum reddant, aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum
dicentes. Quod.

PSALMUS:

Te Deum laudamus non confundar in æternum.²⁹

V<ERSUS>:

Resurrexit Dominus. Sicut dixit vobis.

ORATIO:

Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut in resurrectione Domini nostri
Jesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis percipiamus portionem. Qui tecum
vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia.

DEINDE OSCULETUR CUPPA IN QUA EST SACRAMENTUM, PRIMO A SACERDOTE, ET
POSTEA A POPULO.

It will be observed that the York *Depositio* is attached
directly to the *Adoratio Crucis*, and that the Host is not men-
tioned. That the Host was involved in the *sepulchrum* offices

²⁷ *Manuale* . . . *Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, LXIII, 163-164.

²⁸ *Id.*, pp. 170-174.

²⁹ In the *Surtees* text the *Te Deum* is given in full.

is clear, however, from the fact that the *Elevatio* mentions it particularly.³⁰

Discrimination between the Cross and the Host is seen again in the use of the cathedral of Exeter.³¹ The *Depositio* takes the following form:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>³²

DEINDE EXUAT SACERDOS CASULAM TANTUM, ET IN ALBA ASSISTENS ASSUMAT UNUM DE PRELATIS IN SUPPERELICIO ET REONAT CRUCEM PARITER CUM CORPORE DOMINICO IN SEPULCRO, INCIPIENS HOC RESPONSORIUM:

Estimatus sum.

CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Cum descendantibus, ET CETERA. DEINDE INCENSATO SEPULCRO ET CLAUSO HOSTIO EIUSDEM, INCIPIAT IPSE SACERDOS *Responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino.

CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Signatum, ET CETERA. ITEM IDEM SACERDOS INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

In pace in idipsum.

CHORUS: Dormiam.

IDEM SACERDOS INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

In pace factus est.

CHORUS: Locus eius.

ITEM SACERDOS *Antiphonam*:

Caro mea.

CHORUS: Requiescet in spe.

TUNC OMNES CUM DEVOCIONE GENUFLECTANT, ET ADORATA CRUCE, RECEDANT.³³

This *ordo* provides that after Vespers, during the singing of the responsory *Aestimatus sum*, a priest, accompanied by one prelate, deposits in the *sepulchrum* both Cross and Host.³⁴ Then after the censuring of the *sepulchrum* and the closing of the door, is sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. The office is concluded by the singing of three antiphons and an adoration of the Cross.³⁵

³⁰ The York texts may serve as a reminder that the absence of Host or Cross from an isolated version of the *Depositio* or *Elevatio* does not definitely prove the absence from the *sepulchrum* offices of the object ignored in the rubrics.

³¹ *Ordinale Exoniense*, edited from a manuscript of the fourteenth century by J. N. Dalton, in *Henry Bradshaw Society*, Vol. XXXVII, London, 1909. From Exeter no *Visitatio* is forthcoming.

³² *Henry Bradshaw Society*, XXXVII, 321.

³³ Followed immediately by the rubric *In Vigilia Pasce*.

³⁴ The reservation of this Host on Holy Thursday is provided for in the following rubric (*Henry Bradshaw Soc.*, XXXVII, 318): Ponantur a diacono tres hostie ad sacramentandum, quarum due reseruantur in crastinum, una ad percipiendum a sacerdote, *reliqua ut reponatur cum cruce in sepulcro*.

³⁵ I am not clear as to what cross is the center of this concluding adoration. By this time the cross used in the *Depositio* is enclosed within the *sepulchrum*.

The *Elevatio* from Exeter is described in the following *ordo*:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>*

IN AURORA DIEI ANTE PULSACIONEM CAMPANARUM ET ANTE ECIAM MATUTINAS CONUENIANT CLERICI OMNES ET LAICI AD ECCLESIAM, ET ACCENDANTUR OMNIA LUMINARIA PER ECCLESIAM. EPISCOPUS ET DECANUS VEL ALIE DUE DIGNIORES PERSONE PRESENTES IN SUPPERELICIJS CUM CEROFERARIJS ET THURIBULARIJS ALBIS INDUTIS AD SEPULCRUM UNA CUM TOTO CHORO CIRCUMSTANTE ACCEDANT, ET FACTA DEUOTA GENUFLEXIONE, INCENSATOQUE PRIUS SEPULCRO, CUM MAGNA UENERACIONE CORPUS DOMINICUM ACCIPIENTES PRIUATIM SUPER ALTARE DE-PONANT. ITEM ACCIPIENTES CUM GENUFLEXIONE CRUCEM DE SEPULCRO IN-CHOENT EPISCOPUS ET DECANUS, SI ASINT; SIN AUTEM, DECANUS CUM ALIA EXCELLENCIORE PERSONA, ALTA VOCE HANC ANTIPHONAM:

Christus resurgens.

CUM QUA ANTIPHONA EAT PROCESSIO CHORO CANENTE TOTAM ANTIPHONAM CUM VERSU. ET TUNC PULSENTUR OMNES CAMPANE IN CLASSICUM. ET SIC CUM MAGNA UENERACIONE DEPORTETUR CRUX SOLEMPNITER INTER EOS SUPER BRACHIA, ET THURIBULARIJS ET CEROFERARIJS PRECEDENTIBUS, PER HOSTIUM AUSTRALE PRESBITERIJ INCEDENTES ET CIRCUMEUNDO PER MEDIUM CHORI REGREDIENTES, CHORO SEQUENTE HABITU NON MUTATO, SCILICET IN CAPIS NIGRIS, AD LOCUM UBI PROUISUM FUERIT, EXCELLENCIORIBUS PERSONIS PRECEDENTIBUS. FINITA ANTIPHONA CUM SUO VERSU A TOTO CHORO, DICAT EXCELLENCIOR PER-SONA IN IPSA STACIONE ANTE ALTARE AD CLERUM CONVERSUS HUNC *versum*:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro;

Responsum:

Qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluya;

CUM ORACIONE:

Deus qui pro nobis.

NEC PRECEDAT NEC SUBSEQUATUR: Dominus vobiscum, SET FINIATUR: Per Christum Dominum nostrum. FINITA ORACIONE, OMNES CUM GAUDIO GENUA FLECTANT IBIDEM ET IPSAM CRUCEM ADORENT, IN PRIMIS A DIGNIORIBUS PERSONIS. INTERIM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS.

This office is celebrated before Matins on Easter morning in the presence of laymen and clergy. After the arrival at the *sepulchrum* of the Bishop, Dean, and two others in procession, and after the censing of the place, the Host is taken up separately and carried, without processional singing, to the altar. Then the Cross is raised and taken in procession into the choir, during the singing of the antiphon *Christus resurgens*. During the procession all the bells of the church are rung. In the choir are said a versicle and response, and a prayer. The office closes with an adoration of the Cross. The special reverence paid to the Cross in the *Elevatio*, along with the closing obser-

* *Henry Bradshaw Society*, XXXVII, 138-139.

vance of the *Depositio*, seems especially to indicate the influence of the *Adoratio Crucis*.

In the present part of our review belong the texts from the cathedral of Bayeux.³⁷ The *Depositio* is found as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>³⁸

DEINDE³⁹ EXUAT PONTIFEX CASULAM, ET ACCIPIENS CRUCEM SUPER ALTARE JACENTEM, CUM ALIO SACERDOTE, INCENSATO PRIUS SEPULCHRO, PONAT EAM CUM MAGNA REVERENTIA IN IPSO SEPULCHRO, SUPPOSITIS PULVINARI ET MUNDIS ET ALBIS LINTHEAMINIBUS, ASTANTIBUS DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS IN SUPELLITIIS; ET PONENDO INCIPIAT CANTOR MEDIA VOCE *responsorium*:

Estimatus sum <descendentibus in lacum; factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio, inter mortuos liber. VERSUS: Et sicut vulnerati dormientes, projecti in monumentis, quorum non es memor amplius, et ipsi de manu tua repulsi sunt. Factus sum.>.

CHORO EXCIPIENTE IN EADEM VOCE ILLUD IDEM CUM SUO VERSU ET REGRESSU. DEINDE ACCIPIAT EPISCOPUS DE MANU DIACONI IN PIXIDE SINDONE COOPERTA CORPUS DOMINICUM A DIE PRECEDENTI RESERVATUM ET REPONAT ILLUD HONORIFICE IN IPSO SEPULCHRO JUXTA CRUCEM. PONAT ETIAM IBIDEM EPISCOPUS EX ALIA PARTE CRUCIS CALICEM [VACUUM], PATENAM, [CORPORALIA] SINDONE ETIAM INVOLUTA. DEINDE CLAUDENS IPSE SEPULCHRUM ITERUM INCENSET ILLUD, ET INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

VOCE QUA PRIMUM, ET SIMILITER EXCIPIATUR A CHORO CUM SUO VERSU ET REGRESSU. QUIBUS CANTATIS INCIPIAT IPSE PONTIFEX *antiphonam*:

In pace in idipsum.

ITEM INCIPIAT [SIMILITER] *antiphonam*:

In pace factus est.

³⁷ I present the texts given by U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'Église cathédrale de Bayeux* (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1902), from Bayeux MS 121 of the thirteenth century. Martène prints the *Depositio* (p. 367) and *Elevatio* (p. 478) from "Bajocensis ecclesiæ ordinarium ante annos 400 quantum conjicere licet exaratum,"—a document that we may date about the year 1300. Except for a passage that I reprint in foot-note 40 below, Martène's *Depositio* does not differ substantially from the text given by Chevalier (pp. 133–134) from MS 121. Martène's *Elevatio* I reprint in a foot-note. From the Bayeux *Consuetudinarium*, contained in manuscripts of the thirteenth century, Chevalier gives brief *ordines* for the *Depositio* (pp. 388–389) and *Elevatio* (p. 390). Similar to this last text is the *Elevatio* printed by A. Gasté (*Les Dramas liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, Évreux, 1893, p. 63) from "indications que nous fournit Radulphe l'Angevin dans son *Cérémonial*, rédigé en 1269." The liturgical manuscripts of Bayeux do not contain the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

³⁸ *Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VIII, 133–134. Cf. the *ordo* in the *Consuetudinarium*, *id.*, pp. 388–389.

³⁹ This text is immediately preceded by the *ordo* for Vespers.

ULTIMO AUTEM INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

Caro mea.

ET SIC COMPLEATUR DIEI ISTIUS OFFICIUM. NOTA VERO QUIA, QUAMDIU CORPUS DOMINICUM JACET IN SEPULCHRO, ARDENT CONTINUE DUO CEREI ANTE ILLUD SUPER TAPETUM IBIDEM PROTENTUM.

This office occurs after Vespers. The bishop, assisted by another priest, takes up the Cross lying on the altar, deposits it in the *sepulchrum*,⁴⁰ and places over it a cushion and clean white cloths. Meanwhile is sung the responsory *Aestimatus sum*. Then the bishop places beside the Cross a pyx containing the Host,⁴¹ and on the opposite side of the Cross, an empty chalice and a paten. After the *sepulchrum* has been closed, are sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino* and three antiphons. It is to be observed that for the period during which the Host remains in the *sepulchrum* two lights are kept burning before the place.

The *Elevatio* at Bayeux is ordered as follows:⁴²

⁴⁰ The location and furnishing of the *sepulchrum* are described briefly in the following rubric communicated by Martène (p. 367): *Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum, linteaminibus mundis et palliis pretiosis, et aliis sicut pretiosius fieri consuevit.*

⁴¹ That this Host is especially reserved from Thursday we learn from the *Consuetudinarium* of Bayeux, in which it is spoken of (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VIII, 389) as *Corpus Dominicum a die precedente reservatum*. See also Martène, p. 367.

⁴² Since the *Elevatio* communicated by Martène (p. 478) differs considerably from the text of Bayeux MS 121 used by Chevalier, I reprint Martène's text entire:

Ante matutinas facta pulsatione & conglobato choro ante altare, cereis & thuribulis accensis, episcopus superpelliceo & stola indutus, facta oratione ante altare, stans ad cornu dextrum altaris, lavat manus, incensum benedicit, illudque ponit in thuribulo, & in medio altaris corporale explicat. Sacerdos similiter indutus. Deinde accedit ad sepulchrum ex utraque parte expansum, in quo pyxis cum reliquiis supradictis reservatur: quam flexis genibus incensat, eamque postea defert ad altare, & cum ea clero & populo in modum crucis benedicit more consueto, & supradictum corporale reponit & incensat, moxque ex ea sumptum Corpus Dominicum genibus flexis adorandum ostendit. Quo in pixide reposito, redit ad eundem locum, unde calice cum patena & bursa sumptis, & ad altare delatis, ultimo vero crucem extollens, & ad altare conversus incipiat antiphonam *Christus resurgens* cum suo versu & regressu. Tunc omnes cum gaudio flexis genibus adorent crucem, cantantes eandem antiphonam, quæ dum cantatur supra altare crucem deponit. Quo facto, stans episcopus dicat versum *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*, & orationem *Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum*. Deinde cantatur antiphona *Regina celi* cum suo versu & oratione,

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁴³

IN DIE SANCTO PASCHÆ FIT FESTUM DUPLEX CUM *iiii*th CAPIS DE STALLO ALTIORI. PULSATUR ETIAM SICUT IN NATALI DOMINI QUASI PER HORAM UNAM VEL CIRCA ANTE DIEM. QUA PULSATIONE FINITA, CLERO ANTE ALTARE CONGLOBATO, EPISCOPUS, CEREIS ET THURIBULIS ACCENSIS, ACCEDAT AD SEPULCHRUM. QUO INCENSATO, CORPUS DOMINI INDE SUMPTUM CUM REVERENTIA MAGNA DEPONAT SUPER ALTARE; DEINDE CALICEM, ULTIMO VERO EXTOLLENS IPSE CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO INCIPIAT *antiphonam*:

Xpistus resurgens.

TUNC OMNES CUM GAUDIO, FLEXIS GENIBUS, ADORENT CRUCEM, CANTANTES EANDEM ANTIPHONAM CUM SUO VERSU ET REGRESSU. POSTEA EADEM CRUCE POSITA AB IPSO EPISCOPO SUPER ALTARE BEATORUM RAVENNI ET RASIFI, DICAT IPSE EPISCOPUS, STANS AD IDEM ALTARE *versum*:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

ET PARVO MISSALI APERTO SUPER IPSUM ALTARE: SCILICET, AD PEDEM CRUCIS, SUBJUNGAT ADHUC EPISCOPUS: Oremus, ET ORATIONEM ETC. DICAT EPISCOPUS *Versum*:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,

ET ORATIONEM:

Deus qui pro nobis Filium,

IN MODUM LECTIONIS. STATIM POST EPISCOPUS, CAPA SERICA, MITRA, BACULO, CEROTHECIS, ET ANULO REDIMITUS, INCIPIIT DE STALLO SUO MATUTINAS MODO COMMUNI.

According to this version the bishop proceeds in procession to the *sepulchrum*, censes the place, and, one at a time, carries the Host, the chalice, and the Cross to positions upon the altar. As he takes up the Cross he begins the antiphon *Christus resurgens*. The Cross is then adored, and subsequently taken to the altar of Saints Ravennus and Rasiphus, where two prayers and appropriate versicles are said. The *Elevatio* is followed immediately by Matins.⁴⁴

quæ dum cantatur, episcopus iterum populo & clero cum pyxide benedicit eamque incensatam sacerdos in loco consueto reponit, deinde lavat manus ad idem cornu dextrum altaris, & dicit orationem *Deus qui per resurrectionem* . . . statim post episcopus cappa serica & mitra cum baculo, chirothecis, & annulo redimitus incipit matutinas.

⁴³ *Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VIII, 139. Cf. the *ordo* in the *Consuetudinarium*, *id.*, p. 390.

⁴⁴ In view of the especial reverence shown to the Cross in the *Elevatio* of Bayeux, I find this a convenient point at which to refer to a similar emphasis in versions from Caen, Dublin, and Sarum. Since these versions have already been brought into relation with the drama in recent publications, I do not reprint them in the present study. The *Elevatio* from the Church of St. Sépulcre, Caen,

We now proceed to a series of texts of especial interest through the fact that the versions of the *Elevatio* among them contain suggestions of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell.⁴⁶ From Eichstätt are available a text of the *Depositio* and two texts of the *Elevatio*.⁴⁶

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁴⁷

DEMUM⁴⁸ SACERDOS CUM PARTICULIS MINORIBUS RETENTIS *et* CALICE VACUO AC CRUCE QUAM PRIUS SUBDIACONI GESTABANT, PROCEDAT AD SEPULCHRUM *et* HEC IN SEPULCHRO HONORIFICE RECONDAT, CHORO SUBMISSA VOCE CANENTE RESPONSORIUM:

Recessit pastor noster,

ET RESPONSORIUM:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus.

ET IBIDEM VESPERE SUB SILENTIO.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁹

INCIPIT ORDO IN FESTO SANCTE PASCE. ITEM ANTE MATUTINUM ITUR AD SEPULCHRUM ET CANUNTUR ANTIPHONE SUBSCRIPTÆ. ET TRES DOMINI SIMUL CANTENT PRÆVIAM ANTIPHONAM.⁵⁰

and the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*, from the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, have been printed by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 901, 916-924. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of the Sarum use are fully presented by Chambers, II, 312-315.

⁴⁶ See above, pp. 31, 90-91.

⁴⁷ So far as I know, these texts are now published, or reprinted, for the first time. The *Depositio* is reprinted from *Missale secundum Chorum et Ritum Eistetensis Ecclesie*, Nuremberg, 1517, fol. LXXXV^r (British Museum). This book contains no version of the *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*. The first text of the *Elevatio* published below is from Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 3918, Obsequiale Eystettense saec. xiv, fol. 75^r-75^v. The manuscript contains no text of the *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 75^v-76^v) is mentioned by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 302, but is still unpublished. The second text of the *Elevatio* printed below is found in *Reverendissime in Christo patris D. Christophori pie memorie Episcopi Eistetensis iussu inchoatus est liber iste Obsequiorum Ecclesie absolutus vero electo iam Reverendissimo D. Maurilio ab Hutten: et Deus bene velit*, 1539, fol. cxlviii^r-cl^r (British Museum). This book contains no *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* from it is printed by Lange (No. 106, pp. 10, 71-74).

⁴⁸ *Missale* . . . *Eistetensis Ecclesie*, Nuremberg, 1517, fol. LXXXV^r.

⁴⁹ Preceded immediately by the rubric: Et communicare volentes communicent.

⁵⁰ Munich, Cod. lat. 3918, fol. 75^r-75^v.

⁵⁰ antiphonam] antiphanam (MS).

Ad monumentum venimus gementes; angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.

PRIMUS EORUM CANIT ANTIPHONAM⁶¹ SEQUEMTEM:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluia.

SECUNDUS EORUM CANIT ANTIPHONAM: ⁶¹

Surrexit Xpistus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

TERCIUS CANIT ANTIPHONAM:

Venit Maria nuncians discipulis quia vidi Dominum, alleluia.

DEINDE LEGANTUR ORATIONES QUE IN PARASCAVE LEGEBANTUR ANTE CRUCEM FLEXIS GENIBUS *scilicet*:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste gloriosissime conditor,
et cetera UT SUPRA PATESCUNT.⁶² FINITIS AUTEM ORATIONIBUS PORTATUR CORPUS Xpisti AD CHORUM SEU AD LOCUM SUUM DEPUTATUM, ET CANITUR *antiphona* SUBSCRIPTA: <FOL. 75V>

Cum rex glorie Xpistus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas⁶³ principum tolli preciperet, sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captius uoce lacrimabili clamauerat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem exspectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta; tu factus es spes desperatis magna consolacio in tormentis.⁶⁴

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁶⁵

ORDO IN FESTO SANCTO PASCHE.

ITEM ANTE MATUTINUM ITUR AD SEPULCHRUM ET CANUNTUR *antiphone* SUBSCRIPTÆ. ET TRES DOMINI SIMUL CANTENT PRIMAM *antiphonam*:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes; angelum Domini se <fol. cxlviiiV> dentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.

PRIMUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluia.
<fol. cxlixV>

SECUNDUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Surrexit Christus et illuxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

TERTIUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Venit Maria nuncians di <fol. cxlixV> scipulis quia vidi Dominum, alleluia.

DEINDE LEGANTUR ORATIONES QUE IN PARASCEVE LEGEBANTUR Fol. cxi ANTE CRUCEM FLEXIS GENIBUS, *scilicet*:

Domine Ihesu Christe.

⁶¹ antiphonam] antiphanam (MS).

⁶² As to the reading *patescunt* I am uncertain.

⁶³ portas] portans (MS).

⁶⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: Deinde Matutinum peragitur more suo.

⁶⁵ *Reverendissimi in Christo . . . Episcopi Eistelensis iussu . . . bene vertat*, 1539, fol. cxlviii^r-cl^r.

FINITIS ORATIONIBUS PORTAT CORPUS CHRISTI AD CHORUM SEU AD LOCUM SUUM
DEPUTATUM ET CANITUR ANTHIPONA SUBSCRIPTA SUBMISSA VOCE;

Cum rex glorie Christus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli preciperet, sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captius <fol. cl'> voce lacrimabili clamauerat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem expectabamus in tenebris, vt educeres hac nocte vinculos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta; tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, alleluia.

DEINDE FIT PULSUS CAMPANIS, ET MATUTINUM PERAGITUR MORE SUO.

The Eichstätt *Depositio* is unusual in its close attachment to the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. Immediately after the Communion the Celebrant carries to the *sepulchrum* certain particles of the Host used in the Mass,⁶⁶ along with the empty chalice and the Cross. These objects he reverently lays down during the singing of two responsories.

It will be observed that the two texts of the *Elevatio* are substantially identical. At the *sepulchrum*, before Easter Matins, are rendered some four antiphons and a series of prayers. Then during the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* the *Corpus Christi* is carried to the choir, or to some other appropriate destination. The dramatic theme of the *Descensus* latent in this antiphon is in no wise developed. Noteworthy is the silence of the rubrics concerning the Cross.

Somewhat more highly elaborated than the versions from Eichstätt are those from Meissen. Of the *Depositio* from this church we possess the following two texts:⁶⁷

⁶⁶ That no Host was reserved on Holy Thursday specifically for the *Depositio* appears from the following rubric in the *Missale* of 1517 (fol. lxxviii'): *Duas hostias maiores, quarum unam ipse in hac Missa sumat, alteram uero in crastinum pro celebrante officium reseruet.*

⁶⁷ One of these texts is found in *Benedictionale siue Agenda secundum ritum et consuetudinem Ingenue ecclesie Misnensis*, Meissen, 1512, fol. xxxvii'-xxxviii', reprinted in *Liturgische Bibliothek*, Vol. I (ed. A. Schönfelder), Paderborn, 1904, p. 14. A similar text from *Agenda Numburgense*, Nuremberg, 1502, fol. Lxxiii, is reprinted *ibid.*, p. 69. The second text of the *Depositio* printed below is found in *Breuiarius denuo reuiscus et emendatus Ceremonias Ritum canendi legendi ceterasque consuetudines in choro insignis et ingenue Misnensis Ecclesie obseruandas compendiose explicans*, Meissen, 1520, sig. F 3 recto (British Museum). I reprint also the *Elevatio* from this book (sig. F 4 verso). The *Visitatio* (sig. F 4 verso-F 5 recto) has been reprinted by Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLI, 82-83.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁵⁸

DEINDE SACERDOS CONTINUET OFFICIUM MISSE SECUNDUM ORDINEM MISSALIS, ET VESPERIS FINITIS SACERDOS INDUTUS CAPPÀ CUM MAIORE QUI PRESENS FUERIT DEPORTET CRUCEM AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI CUM THURIBULIS ET CANDELIS SEQUENTE EOS CONUENTU CANTANTES SUBMISSA VOCE:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus et nemo percipit corde; viri iusti tolluntur et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est <fol. xxxviii> iustus. Et erit in pace memoria eius. In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitatio eius.

QUO FINITO DICANTUR SEPTEM PSALMI. QUIBUS FINITIS RECEDANT A SEPULCHRO CANTANDO RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis.⁵⁹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁶⁰

FINITIS VESPERIS, omnes PERSONE LUMINA ARDENTIA HABENTES IUVENES et SENES, PRECEDANTQUE PHERETRUM SCOLARES, CHORALES, et CAPELLANI; POST HOS, QUI PHERETRUM PORTANT. MOX SEQUITUR PHERETRUM OFFICIANS CUM SACRAMENTO; HUNC PRECEDIT DYACONUS ET SUBDYACONUS, UNUS TABULAM PERCUTIENS. HINC SEQUUNTUR CANONICI, POST VICARII omnes CANTANTES:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et cetera.

FITQUE PROCESSIO EX CHORO IN AMBITUM INTRANDO ECCLESIAM, CIRCUMGIRANDO PER CAPELLAM DUCUM USQUE AD LOCUM UBI SEPULCHRUM PARATUM EST IN CAPELLA SIMONIS et IUDE. IBIQUE PONATUR CORPUS CUM PHERETRO ET SACRAMENTUM SUPER ALTARE IBIDEM. ET OFFICIANS AQUA BENEDICTA ASPERSO et THURIFICATO PHERETRO, INCIPIANTUR SEPTEM PSALMI MORE SOLITO. QUIBUS FINITIS DICITUR:

Christus factus est pro nobis obediens, et cetera.

ET OFFICIANS DICIT COLLECTAM:

Respice, quesumus, Domine,

SINE OREMUS et SINE CONCLUSIONE. QUIBUS PERACTIS REDIT PROCESSIO AD CHORUM PER IANUAS DOMINORUM PREPOSITI et DECANI, CUM RESPONSORIO:

Sepulto Domino.

ET TUNC CHORALES SINT STATIM PARATI AD LEGENDUM PSALTERIUM.⁶¹

This office⁶² begins with a carefully arranged procession to the *sepulchrum* after Vespers. Especially noteworthy, for our present purpose, is the fact that the Crucifix is borne upon a

⁵⁸ *Benedictionale . . . Ecclesie Misnensis*, Meissen, 1512, fol. xxxvii^r-xxxviii^r.

⁵⁹ Followed immediately by the rubric *In Vigilia Pasce*.

⁶⁰ *Breuiarius . . . Misnensis Ecclesie . . .*, Meissen, 1520, sig. F 3 recto.

⁶¹ Followed immediately by the rubric: *Completerium*.

⁶² I refer to the fuller text, of 1520.

bier,⁶³ and that the Host is carried by the Officiant. The processional piece is the responsory *Ecce quomodo*. The Host and the bier bearing the Crucifix are placed upon the altar in the Chapel of Simon and Jude, where the *sepulchrum* is arranged. After the sprinkling and the censuring of the *pheretrum*, the seven penitential psalms are said,⁶⁴ followed by a versicle and a collect. The procession returns to the choir with the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino*.

The *Elevatio* from Meissen is as follows:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁶⁵

IN NOCTE PASCHE ANTE PULSUM MATUTINARUM CIRCA HORAM UNDECIMAM AD LEVATIONEM CRUCIS FIAT CONVENTUS IN CHORO, ET OMNES PERSONE ACCIPIUNT LUMINA ARDENTIA IN MANUS. ET TRES CANONICI MAIORES CAPPIS RUBEIS SERICEIS INDUTI, SEQUENTE EOS CONUENTU, EXEUNT PROCESSIONALITER CHORUM PER IANUAS DOMINORUM PREPOSITI ET DECANI CUM VEXILLIS, THURIBULIS, ET CANDELIS AD SEPULCHRUM CUM SEPTEM PSALMIS QUI IN CHORO INCIPIUNTUR SINE GLORIA PATRI. QUIBUS DICTIS, DICITUR ALLELUIA. ET TUNC PREDICTI MAIORES CANONICI THURIFICENT CRUCEM ET LEUANT CANTANDO SUBMISSA VOCE CUM CHORO:

Resurrexi.

DUO RECIPIUNT IMAGINEM RESURRECTIONIS ET MAIOR SACRAMENTUM, ET OMNES REDEANT AD CHORUM. IMAGINE AD MEDIUM SUMMI ALTARIS LOCATA ET SACRAMENTO IN SUMMO ALTARI POSITO CANTETUR ANTIPHONA:

Cum rex glorie, SUBMISSA VOCE.

QUA FINITA, DECANUS AUT PREPOSITUS DICAT VERSUM:

In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia,

CHORO RESPONDENTE:

Celum et terra letentur, alleluia.

Collecta:

Presta, quesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut in resurrectione.

POSTEA CANONICI OSCULENTUR IMAGINEM ET OFFERENT, ET DETUR PAX CIRCUMSTANTIBUS. DATA PACE, QUIBET DICAT ALTERI:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

⁶³ The fact that the bier (*pheretrum*) supports the Crucifix is made clearer in the rubrics of the *Elevatio*, printed below. In the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* together the Crucifix seems to be designated by a variety of words: *corpus*, *crux*, *imago*. The Host is uniformly called *sacramentum*. The expression *Imago resurrectionis* puzzles me. It may indicate a special object, or it may—inappropriately, it would seem—refer to the Crucifix, or to the *Corpus* upon the Crucifix. See above, p. 81, note 38.

⁶⁴ The use of these psalms allies the *Depositio*, once more, to such forms of the *Adoratio* as that seen in St. Athelwold's *Concordio Regularis*. See above, pp. 20–22.

⁶⁵ *Breuiarius . . . Misnensis Ecclesie . . .*, Meissen, 1520, sig. F 4 verso.

ET ILLE RESPONDEAT:

Et apparuit Petro, alleluia.

TUNC CANTOR VEL UNUS DOMINORUM INCIPIAT ALTE:

Christ ist enstanden.

TUNC CAMPANATOR ACCEDAT *et* LUMINA ACCIPIAT, ET AD LOCA DESTINATA AP-
PONAT; IBIQUE QUAMDIU DURENT, ARDEANT. HIIS PERACTIS PULSENTUR CAM-
PANE.⁶⁶

This procession to the *sepulchrum*, before Matins, begins with the saying of seven psalms. After the censing of the Crucifix, it is taken up from the *sepulchrum* while the Introit *Resurrexi*⁶⁷ is being rendered. During the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* the *Imago Resurrectionis*⁶⁸ and the Host are carried separately to the choir and placed upon the altar. After a versicle and a response, a collect is said, the *Imago Resurrectionis* is kissed, and the *Pax* is administered. The office closes appropriately with the singing of the vernacular *Christ ist entstanden*.⁶⁹

Although clearly belonging in the succession of texts now under examination, the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Regensburg present unusual aspects:⁷⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁷¹

DICTIS VESPERIS SACERDOTES QUI INDUTI CASULIS AD ALTARE MINISTRABANT ACCIPIUNT CRUCEM UT EAM PRECEDENTIBUS EOS MINISTRIS CUM CEREIS *et* THURIBULO COLLOCENT IN SEPULCHRUM. Post hos sequitur Dominus ABBAS DEFERENS CORPUS DOMINICUM IN APERTO. Hos Sequitur CONVENTUS CANTANS *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur, CUM VERSU.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor, CUM VERSU.

⁶⁶ Followed immediately by Matins.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 35.

⁶⁸ The precise meaning of the term *Imago Resurrectionis* I do not know; nor am I certain as to the relation of the object signified to the *Imago Crucifixi*, discussed above. See p. 81.

⁶⁹ See Lange, pp. 99-129. *Erstanden* is, of course, the usual reading.

⁷⁰ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14183, *Ordinarium Monasterii Sancti Emmeranni Ratisbonensis* saec. xv, fol. 47^v-48^r, 50^v. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now published for the first time. The important *Visitatio* from this manuscript has been published by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 300-302. It will be observed that the texts now printed differ substantially from those printed above (pp. 88-89) from the Regensburg *Ordinarium* in Munich MS 26947.

⁷¹ Munich, Cod. lat. 14183, fol. 48^r-48^v.

Antiphona:

Ioseph ab Arimathia.

INTERIM Dominus Abbas et SACERDOTES LOCAVERUNT CRUCEM et CORPUS DOMINI SUPER SEPULCHRUM, et IPSUM OPERIENTES LINtheo INCENSANT, ET CANTANT *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino.

FINITO *responsorio* Dominus Abbas, dicto *Pater Noster*, dicat *versum*:

Tu autem, Domine, miserere mei.

Oratio:

Deus, qui filium tuum unigenitum.

TUNC Dominus Abbas CLAM <fol. 48^v> SUB CASULAM ACCIPIT CORPUS DOMINI, et PRECEDENTIBUS EUM CEREIS PORTAT IPSUM IN SACRARIUM MORE SOLITO RESERVANDUM. DEINDE EXTRAHUNT SE MINISTRI et IPSI et CONVENTUS INDUUNT CALCEOS et PREPARANT SE AD REFLECTIONEM. PULSATAQUE TABULA, UENIUNT AD REFECTORIUM.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁷²

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTE PULSATAS MATUTINAS, Dominus Abbas et SENIORES VENIUNT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM CANDELIS et INCENSO et ASPERSORIO SUBMISSA VOCE DICENTES *psalmum*:

Domine, probasti me, TOTUM.

Sequitur *Pater noster*. *Versus*:

In resurrectione tua, Xpiste, alleluia.

Oratio:

Deus, qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis.

TUNC Dominus Abbas THURIFICAT CRUCEM et ASPERGIT. TOLLENS CRUCEM SUPER HUMERUM SUUM CANTOR SUBMISSA VOCE INCIPIT:

Cum rex glorie.

QUO FINITO *sequitur*:

Alleluia, surrexit pastor bonus.

Et SIC CIRCUMEUNT TOTUM AMBITUM. ET INTRANTIBUS CHORUM Dominus Abbas ASSIGNAT CRUCEM ECCLESIASTICO AD AMBONEM, qui eam cum HONORE DEBITO LOCABIT AD LOCUM SUUM. POST HEC DATUR SIGNUM AD PULSANDAS MATUTINAS.

The *ordo* for the *Depositio* provides that after Vespers both the Cross and the Host be carried in the procession and placed upon the *sepulchrum*. The *sepulchrum* is now covered with a cloth⁷³ and censed. At the close of the office, after saying the *Pater Noster* and a collect, the abbot privately carries the Host from the *sepulchrum* to the sacristy, where it is reserved with accustomed reverence. In so far as the present study is con-

⁷² *Id.*, fol. 50^v.

⁷³ I construe the Latin to mean that both the *sepulchrum* and the objects upon it are thus covered.

cerned, this prompt removal of the Host from beside the Cross is unique.⁷⁴

Since the Host has already been taken away from the place of burial, the *Elevatio*, before Easter Matins, is concerned with the Cross alone. The abbot and *seniores* go in procession to the *sepulchrum* rendering the psalm *Domine, probasti*. After saying the *Pater noster* and a collect, the abbot censes and sprinkles the Cross, and then carries it on its way toward the assigned place, the choir singing *Cum rex gloriæ*.

Although the group of texts that we have been examining contains several versions of the *Elevatio* in which appears the *Descensus* theme (*Cum rex gloriæ*), in none of these versions is the theme developed dramatically. We may appropriately pass, then, to the evidences that this development did occur. Such evidence appears, for example, in the following version of the *Elevatio* from the cathedral of Hereford:⁷⁵

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁷⁶

POST MEDIAM NOCTEM ANTE MATUTINAS ET ANTE CAMPANARUM PULSIONEM CONVENIANT OMNES CLERICI IN CAPITULUM; ET IBI ORDINATA PROCESSIONE PRECEDANT CEROFERARII ET THURIBULARII CUM CRUCE, EPISCOPO ET DECANO IN ALBIS REUESTITIS, DICTIS EPISCOPO ET DECANO ET OMNIBUS ALIIS CANONICIS CEREOS EXTINGTOS IN MANIBUS GESTANTIBUS, OMNIBUSQUE LUMINARIBUS ECCLESIE PRETER CEREUM PASCHALEM ET PRETER CEREUM INFRA SEPULCRUM EXTINGTIS; INCIPIT CANTOR ANTIPHONAM:

Cum Rex glorie,

SUBMISSA VOCE, UT MAGIS LAMENTATIONEM ET SUSPIRIA REPRESENTET QUAM CANTUM, ET SIC PROGREDIANTUR ANTE SEPULCRUM. FINITA ANTIPHONA, EPISCOPUS ET DECANUS ACCEDANT AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI; EPISCOPUS HUMILI VOCE ANTIPHONAM:

Elevamini,

FINE TENUS CANTET. CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex glorie.

EPISCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII PAULO ALTIUS CANTET ANTIPHONAM:

Elevamini, UT SUPRA.

CHORUS SIMILITER:

Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in prelio.

⁷⁴ I mean unique, of course, in so far as explicitness of rubric is concerned. This practice may have been followed in other versions whose rubrics are laconic.

⁷⁵ *The Hereford Breviary* (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. XXVI, London, 1904, ed. by W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown), pp. 324–325, from the Rouen edition of 1505. This breviary contains no *Depositio* or *Visitatio*.

⁷⁶ *Henry Bradshaw Society*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 324–325.

EPISCOPUS TERCIO ALTIUS CANTET:

Elevamini, UT SUPRA.

CHORUS SIMILITER:

Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus virtutum, UT SUPRA.

TUNC APERTO SEPULCHRO, EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII INGREDIATUR SEPULCHRUM, ET ABLATO AMICTU CRUCEM ET SACRAMENTUM THURIFICET; INDE CEREUM QUEM TENET ACCENDAT A CEREIO INFRA SEPULCHRUM, EX QUO OMNES ALII CEREI ACCENDANTUR. POSTEA EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII ELEUANS CRUCEM ET SACRAMENTUM CONIUNCTIM DE SEPULCHRO INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

Domine, abstraxisti,

ET FINE TENUS CANTET. CHORUS PSALMUM:

Exaltabo te, Domine,

PROSEQUATUR; ET IN FINE POST UNUMQUEMQUE VERSUM PSALMI FIAT REPETITIO ANTIPHONAE, SCILICET: Domine, abstraxisti, QUOUSQUE SANCTA CRUX AB EPYSCOPO VEL EXECUTORE OFFICII SUPER ALTARE OFFERATUR, ET QUOUSQUE VEXILUM SANCTE CRUCIS APPOSITUM FUERIT; ET VEXILO APPOSITO EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII INCIPIAT HUNC VERSUM:

Consurgit Christus tumulo,

CHORO PROSEQUENTE:

Victor redit de baratro.

DEINDE EPISCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII:

Quesumus, auctor omnium,

CHORUS:

In hoc paschali gaudio.

EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

HIC OMNES GENUFLECTANT, ET PULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA, CHORO PROSEQUENTE:

Qui surrexisti a mortuis.

TUNC EPYSCOPUS ALTA VOCE INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluya, alleluya, alleluya.

EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII DICAT VERSICULUM:

Dicite in nationibus.

Responsio:

Quia Dominus regnavit in ligno, alleluya.

ORATIO:

Deus, qui pro nobis . . . famulis tuis, ut resurrectionis eius gratiam consequamur.

QUE TERMINETUR SIC:

Per eundem Cristum Dominum nostrum.

CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Amen.

NEC PRECEDAT NEC SEQUATUR Dominus vobiscum, NEC Benedicamus Domino. TUNC ACCENDANTUR DUO CEREI, ET PONANTUR A DEXTRIS ET A SINISTRIS CRUCIS; NON AMOVEANTUR USQUE AD PROCESSIONEM. SEPULCRUM VERO STET OSTIO APERTO VACUUM USQUE POST VESPERAS HAC DIE IN TESTIMONIUM RESURRECTIONIS. POSTEA REDEANT IN CAPITULUM EODEM ORDINE QUO VENERUNT. EPYSCOPUS VERO HAC DIE POST DEBITAM CAMPANARUM PULSATIONEM ASSUMPTIS PONTIFICIBUS ASCENDAT AD SEDEM SUAM, ET IBI INCIPIAT MATUTINAS HOC MODO.

The Hereford use provides that after midnight the whole *conventus* shall pass from the chapter-house to the *sepulchrum* in the church, the place being lighted only by the Easter candle and the candle at the door of the sepulchre. During the procession is sung lugubriously the familiar antiphon *Cum rex gloria*. At the door of the *sepulchrum* the bishop sings the antiphon *Elevamini*, to which the chorus responds *Quis est iste rex gloria?* This challenge and response are delivered three times, each time in a higher tone. The bishop now enters the *sepulchrum*, censes the Cross and Host, and from the sepulchre-candle lights his own candle and that in the hand of each cleric in the procession. He next takes up from the *sepulchrum* both Cross and Host, and proceeds with the Cross to the altar.⁷⁷ The raising of the Cross and Host is accompanied by the singing of the psalm *Exaltabo* and its antiphon *Domine abstraxisti*. After a banner (*vexillum*) has been attached to the Cross, appropriate persons deliver several versicles and responses, an antiphon, and a prayer; and leaving a light on either side of the Cross, the procession returns to the chapter-house. In commemoration of the Resurrection the door of the *sepulchrum* is left open throughout the day.

Although it will be readily admitted that in this version of the *Elevatio* the theme of the *Descensus* advances to the stage of dramatic dialogue, it will be observed both that the advance stops short of impersonation, and that it results in certain improprieties in detail. The use of the sepulchre itself as a *limbus* involves an obvious jostling of concepts, and the utterance of the choir, in that it includes both interrogation (*Quis est?*) and reply (*Dominus virtutum*), ignores dramatic consistency.

That improprieties of this sort were perceived and removed is clear from other versions of the *Elevatio*, such as that used at the cathedral of Bamberg. In the case of this church, however, we are fortunate in possessing the text not only of the *Elevatio*, but also of all the other offices and ceremonials associated with the *sepulchrum*.⁷⁸ The reservation of a par-

⁷⁷ The disposal of the Host is not elucidated.

⁷⁸ *Agenda Bambergensis* . . . , Ingolstadii, 1587 (Munich, Hofbibliothek), Part II, pp. 489-490, 522-527, 585-597, 597-604. The *Depositio* is now reprinted for the first time. The *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* have been reprinted

ticular Host for use at the sepulchre, for example, is provided for in the following rubric from Holy Thursday:

Quoniam Ecclesia Catholica in die sancto Parasceves Corpus Christi consecrare non solet, idcirco Parochus sub sacro hodierno duas Hostias maiores consecret, quarum unam in Missa sumat, alteram vero in sequentem diem sumendam servet; eamque corporali involutam, peracto sacro, reverenter, praecedente lumine, et campanula tinniente, portet; atque recondat eo in loco, ubi aliae Hostiae consecratae asservari consueverunt. In Ecclesiis porro maioribus, Tertia quoque Hostia magna consecretur, quae postridie in Sepulchrum Domini posita, ibidem a populo Christiano usque ad tempus Dominicae resurrectionis adorari queat. Et haec quoque Hostia cum praedicta coniugatur et asservetur.⁷⁹

In this rubric we are given the special information that the Host for the *Depositio* was of large size, and that it was to be exposed for general adoration from Friday until Easter.

The *Depositio* is ordered as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁸⁰

POSTEA⁸¹ REDEAT AD ALTARE, ET ACCIPIAT HOSTIAM MAGNAM CONSECRATAM, UNA CUM PARVA CRUCE, IBI RELICTAM, EAMQUE AD SEPULCHRUM PORTET; ITE-

by Lange in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 247-251, and the *Visitatio* alone is reprinted again by Lange in *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, No. 141, pp. 12, 93-95. Because of their general resemblances to the texts from Bamberg, we may appropriately mention here the versions from Mainz, Würzburg, and Augsburg: The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Mainz are published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 914-915. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Würzburg are reprinted from a service-book of the year 1564 by G. Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 134-135. The *sepulchrum* offices of Augsburg are accessible in several prints. From *Obsequialis secundum diocesis Augustensis morem*, 1487, Milchsack (pp. 127-129) reprints the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*. From *Ritus Ecclesiastici Augustensis Episcopatus*, Dillingæ, 1580, Milchsack (pp. 131-132) and Lange (No. 170, pp. 108-110) have reprinted the *Visitatio*. The *Elevatio* (pp. 582-593) has, I believe, not been reprinted. The *Depositio* referred to in a rubric (p. 517) may be supplied from *Missale . . . Augustensis Ecclesie*. Dillingæ, 1555, fol. 114^v (British Museum), not yet reprinted. In *Obsequiale . . . secundum ecclesiam Augustensem*, [Augsburg, 1499] (British Museum) are found a *Depositio* (fol. xv^r-xv^v), an *Elevatio* (fol. xxx^v-xxxii^v), and a *Visitatio* (fol. xxxii^v-xxxiii^v), none of which has, I believe, been reprinted.

⁷⁹ *Agenda Bambergensia*, Ingolstadii, 1587, pp. 489-490.

⁸⁰ *Id.*, pp. 522-527.

⁸¹ Preceded immediately by the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

RUM PRAECEDENTE LUMINE, ET SONANTE TABULA. SACERDOTEM IMMEDIATE SEQUATUR CHORUS CANTANS LUGUBRI VOCE RESPONSORIUM: <p. 523>

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; viri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iu <p. 524> tus. Et erit in pace memoria eius.

Versus: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitatio eius. Et erit, etc.

CUM AD SEPULCHRUM PERVENERIT SACERDOS, CORPUS CHRISTI UNA CUM SANCTA CRUCE REVERENTER DEONAT IN SEPULCHRUM, FACTAQUE THURIFICATIONE, AC LUSTRALIS A <p. 525> QUAE ASPERSIONE, CLAUDAT, ET SERA DILIGENTER MUNIAT SEPULCHRUM, NE CHRISTI CORPUS, PER IMPIOS AUT HAERETICOS VEL IUDAEOS INDE AUFERRI, VEL ALIA QUEVIS CONTAMINATIO FIERI QUEAT. DEINDE SEQUENS CANTETUR RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, voluentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti. Ponentes mi <p. 526> lites qui custodirent illud.

Versus: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius, et furentur eum, et dicant plebi:

Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes, etc. <p. 527>

POSTEA SACERDOS CUM MINISTRIS, VEL CHORO FLEXIS GENIBUS, LEGAT CLARA VOCE VESPERAS, SECUNDUM RITUM IN BREVIARIO DESCRIPTUM. CURENT POSTREMO PAROCHI UT IN HONOREM VENERABILIS SACRAMENTI SINT ET MANEANT CONTINUE AD SEPULCHRUM CEREI ARDENTES; ET PSALTERIUM QUOQUE PER PUEROS VEL ALIOS LUGUBRI LENTAQUE VOCE LEGATUR USQUE AD HORAM RESURRECTIONIS. SUB DIVINIS TAMEN LECTIO PSALMORUM DEBET OMITTI.

This *ordo* provides that immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificationum* the Host and a small cross (*parva crux*)⁸² are carried in procession to the *sepulchrum*.⁸³ After both objects have been placed within the sepulchre, and have been censed and sprinkled, particular care is taken to lock the door against intrusion. The entire action is accompanied by familiar liturgical chants. Lights are kept at the *sepulchrum* until Easter, and during this period those who guard the place sing psalms.

The *Elevatio* contains an ample treatment of the theme of the *Descensus*:

⁸² It appears that this cross is to be distinguished from the larger cross used in the *Adoratio* of Good Friday. See the text of the *Elevatio* below.

⁸³ Concerning the general arrangement of the *sepulchrum* we have the following rubric (*Agenda Bambergense*, p. 495): Alius quoque deligatur locus pro Sepulchro Domini erigendo, qui inter caetera contineat unam arcam, vel quid simile, quod claudi et obserari, atque in eo venerabile Sacramentum reponi, tutoque relinqui possit, usque ad tempus et horam Dominicæ resurrectionis.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁸⁴

ORDO CELEBRANDI COMMEMORATIONEM DOMINICAE RESURRECTIONIS IN SANCTA NOCTE.

ET HAEC QUOQUE DOMINICAE RESURRECTIONIS COMMEMORATIO CELEBRIORIBUS SERVIT ECCLESIIIS. UNDE ALIARUM ECCLESiarUM, UT POTE MINORUM ET RURALIUM RECTORES ET PAROCHI, EX ORDINE HIC DESCRIPTO, ALIQUID SALTEM DESUMERE POSSUNT, QUOD PRO LOCI ET PERSONARUM ILLIC CONVENIENTIUM QUALITATE COMMODUM FORE IUDICAVERINT.

UBI IGITUR CORPUS DOMINI IN DIE PARASCEVES SEPULCHRO IMPOSITUM, INDE ELEVANDUM EST, SEQUENS SERVETUR MODUS. <P. 586> CIRCA HORAM NOCTIS HUIUS SACRAE UNDECIMAE POPULUS CHRISTIANUS AD SEPULCHRUM DOMINI CONVENIAT, SACERDOS VERO SUPERPELICEO, STOLA, ET PLUVIALI, SEU CAPPÄ, UT VOCANT, CHORALI INDUTUS, E SACRARIO PRODEAT, VERSUSQUE SEPULCHRUM LENTO GRADU PERGAT, PRAECEDENTIBUS IPSUM DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS, UNOQUE ET ALTERO CLERICO SIMILITER SUPERPELICEATO SEQUENTE. AD SEPULCHRUM UBI PERVENERINT, IN GENUA PROCUMBANT, SICQUE CORAM VENERABILI SACRAMENTO SEQUENTES DUOS PSALMOS, FLEXIS GENIBUS, DEVOTE RECITENT:

Psalmus iii. Domine, quid multiplicati⁸⁵ . . <p. 587> super populum tuum benedictio tua. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, etc.

Psalmus cxxxviii. Domine, probasti⁸⁵ . . <p. 590> et deduc me in via aeterna. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum, Amen.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster, etc. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera, etc.

Versus: In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia.

Responsum: Coelum et terra laetentur, alleluia. <p. 591>

Oremus:

Gregem tuum, Pastor bone, placatus intende, et oves, quas pretioso sanguine redemisti, diabolica non sinas incursione lacerari. Qui cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivis ac regnas Deus, per omnia secula seculorum.

Responsum: Amen.

HIS DICTIS, APERIATUR SEPULCHRUM, FIATQUE THURIFICATIO ET AQUAE BENEDICTAE ASPERSIO SUPER VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM, ET PARVAM CRUCIFIXI IMAGINEM, QUAE UTRAQUE DEINDE SACERDOS REVERENTER IN MANUS CAPIAT, VERSUSQUE AD POPULUM SEQUEMTEM ANTIPHONAM TRIBUS VICIBUS, VOCE SEMPER ALTIUS ELEVATA, INCIPIAT, AC RELIQUUM CHORUS PROSEQUATUR:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

CHORUS:

Qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluia.

POSTEA INSTITUATUR PROCESSIO, VEL PER COEMITERIUM, VEL (SI TUTUM NON VIDEBITUR) PER TEMPLI AMBITUM, HOC MODO: PRIMO PRAECEDANT DUO CERO-

⁸⁴ *Agenda Bambergense*, Ingolstadii, 1587, pp. 585-597.

⁸⁵ In the print these psalms are given in full.

FERARI PRÆDICTI, QUOS IMMEDIATE SEQUANTUR DUO SACERDOTES, VEL CLERICI, PORTANTES EAM CRUCIFIXI IMAGINEM MAGNAM, QUAM CASULA COOPERTAM, IN DIE PARASCEVES GESTAVERUNT DUO SACERDOTES. DEINDE SUBSEQUATUR SACERDOS CUM VENERABILI SACRAMENTO ET SANCTA CRUCE, QUAE UTRAQUE PAULO ANTE EX SEPULCHRO LEVAVIT; CHORUS VERO CANTET ANTIPHONAM:

Cum rex gloriae Christus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet, sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captivus, voce lacrymabili clamaverat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte vinculatos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta, tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, alleluia.

UBI AD PRIMAM VEL PROXIMAM TEMPLI IANUAM VENTUM FUERIT, DUO SACERDOTES PRÆDICTI CUM STIPITE CRUCI <P. 593> FIXI TRIBUS VICIBUS FORTITER PERCUTIANT IANUAM, HUNCQUE IN MODUM INTER PERCUTIENDUM CANTENT:

Tollite portas principes vestras, et elevamini portae aeternales.

CHORUS QUOD SEQUITUR CANIT:

Et introibit Rex gloriae.

SIT DEINDE ALIQUIS IN TEMPLO (SI TAMEN EXTRA TEMPLUM PROCESSIO FIT; SI VERO IN TEMPLO INSTITUATUR PROCESSIO, SIT IS EXTRA TEMPLUM) QUI DIABOLI PERSONAM SIMULANS, FER <P. 594> RO, MALLEO, AUT CATHENA, FORTITER QUOQUE IMPINGAT IN IANUAM EANDEM, DICATQUE VEL CLAMET ALTA VOCE:

Quis est iste Rex gloriae?

MOX CHORUS, VEL EO DEFICIENTE, SACERDOS SUBIUNGAT:

Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

POST HAEC CHORUS IN INCOEPTA, ET PAULO ANTE INTERRUPTA, ANTIPHONA: Cum Rex gloria, ETC. CANERE PERGAT, TOTAQUE PROCESSIO, ORDINE PRÆDICTO, VERSUS SECUNDAM TEMPLI IANUAM PROGREDIATUR, APUD QUAM OMNIA FIANT, UTI APUD PRIMAM. ET NOTANDUM QUOD HAEC UTRAQUE IANUA MANERE DEBET CLAUSA. <P. 595> QUANDO VERO AD ULTIMAM IANUAM VENERINT, FACTIS IBIDEM QUOQUE IIS QUAE CIRCA PRIMAM INDICAVIMUS, APERIRI DEBET ILLA. PER QUOD DESIGNATUR, VEL CIRCUMSTANTI POPULO AD OCULUM REPRÆSENTATUR, QUOMODO CHRISTUS DOMINUS POST PASSIONEM SUO AD INFEROS DESCENSU, EUM INFERNI LOCUM QUI PATRUM LYMBUS DICITUR APERUERIT, VEL QUOD ALIBI DICITUR, PORTAS AEREAS VEL VECTES FERREOS CONFREGERIT, SUOSQUE CAPTIVOS INDE LIBERAVERIT. DEINDE CONTINUETUR ANTIPHONA: Cum Rex gloriae, ETC. USQUE AD FINEM, PERGATQUE PROCESSIO AD CHORUM TEMPLI. SACERDOS VERO GRADUS ALTARIS ASCENDAT, IBIQUE VERSUS POPULUM CONSISTENS, AC CHRISTI CORPUS ADHUC IN MANIBUS TENENS, CANTET TRIBUS VICIBUS, VOCE SEMPER ALTIUS ELEVATA: O vere digna hostia, ETC., CHORO VERSUM ILLUM PROSEQUENTE. <P. 596>

O vere digna hostia,

CHORUS: Per quam fracta sunt tartara,
redempta plebs captivata,
redit ad vitae praemia.

ADDATUR DEINCEPS EIUSDEM HYMNI ULTIMUS VERSUS, SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE:

Gloria tibi, Domine. CHORUS: Qui surrexisti a mortuis, cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu, in sempiterna secula, Amen.

SUB HOC ULTIMO VERSU, SACERDOS, FACTO SIGNO CRUCIS SUPER POPULUM CUM VENERABILI<P. 597>SACRAMENTO, PORTET ILLUD AD SUUM LOCUM IN QUO CONSERUARI SOLET; CHORUS VERO INCIPIAT:

Victimae paschali laudes, etc.

ET POST QUEMLIBET VERSUM, INSERAT UNUM TANTUM PASCHALEM GERMANICUM, QUEM POPULUS QUOQUE CELEBRITER DECANTET; SITQUE PRIMUS:

Christ ist erstanden, etc.

HOS CANTUS INVENIES IN FINE HUIUS LIBRI. POST HAEC INCIPIANTUR MATUTINAE.

According to this version, a general congregation is allowed to gather at the *sepulchrum*, where they are joined by a procession of clerics from the sacristy. After the saying of two psalms, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, a versicle, and a prayer, the *sepulchrum* is opened and the Host and Cross are censed and sprinkled, and elevated into general view. Both the Host and Cross are then carried in procession through the cemetery outside the church, the chorus singing the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae*. When the procession reaches the first door of the church, the two priests who carry the *Magna Crux*⁸⁶ strike the door three times with the shaft, singing *Tollite portas*. A person within the church, representing Satan, responds with the words *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* The chorus in the procession outside replies *Dominus fortis*. Since this door remains closed, the procession passes on and repeats the dialogue at a second portal. When this door yields, the procession enters the church and advances to the choir. This ceremonial at the church-doors, the rubric tells us, specifically represents the Harrowing of Hell. Having entered the choir, the priest sings three times the verse *O vere digna Hostia*. After the Host has been put in its accustomed place,⁸⁷ the choir sings the sequence *Victimae paschali*, the congregation responding to each sentence with a verse of the vernacular hymn *Christ ist erstanden*.

Our consideration of the representations of the Harrowing of Hell may appropriately conclude with an examination of the fifteenth century texts from the monastery of Barking, near London, for the *Elevatio* from this church shows a remarkable development of the theme of the *Descensus*. First, however,

⁸⁶ This *Magna Crux*—apparently from the *Adoratio* of Good Friday—is to be distinguished from the *parva crux* placed in the *sepulchrum*.

⁸⁷ This may be the tabernacle of the main altar.

we must glance at the following significant version of the *Depositio*:⁸⁸

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁸⁹

CUM AUTEM SANCTA CRUX FUERIT ADORATA, SACERDOTES DE LOCO PREDICTO CRUCEM ELEVANTES INCIPIANT *Antiphonam*:

Super omnia ligna,
et CHORO ILLO SUBSEQUENTE TOTAM CONCINANT. CANTRICE INCIPIENTE, DEFERANT CRUCEM AD MAGNUM ALTARE, IBIQUE IN SPECIE IOSEPH et NICHODEMI, DE LIGNO DEPONENTES YMAGINEM VULNERA CRUCIFIXI UINO ABLUANT et AQUA. DUM AUTEM HEC FIUNT, CONCINAT CONUENTUS *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus,
SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE et CANTRICE RESPONDENTE et CONUENTU SUCCINENTE. Post VULNERUM ABLUCIONEM cum CANDELABRIS et TURRIBULO DEFERANT ILLAM AD SEPULCRUM HAS⁹⁰ CANENTES *Antiphonas*:

In pace in idipsum.

Antiphona:

Habitabit.

Antiphona:

Caro mea.

CUMQUE IN PREDICTUM LOCUM TAPETUM PALLEO AURICULARI QUOQUE et LINTHEIS NITIDISSIMIS DECENTER ORNATUM ILLAM cum REVERENCIA LOCAVERINT, CLAUDAT SACERDOS SEPULCRUM ET INCIPIAT *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino.

Et TUNC ABBATISSA OFFERAT CEREUM, QUI IUGITER ARDEAT ANTE SEPULCRUM, NEC EXTINGUATUR DONEC YMAGO IN NOCTE PASCHE post MATUTINAS DE SEPULCRO cum CEREBUS et THURE et PROCESSIONE RESUMPTA, SUO REPONATUR IN LOCO.⁹¹

It will be observed that this office attaches itself directly to the *Adoratio Crucis*; indeed the *Depositio* may be regarded as a conclusion for it.⁹² Especially noteworthy is the detaching of the *Ymago* (*Corpus*) from the Cross and the washing of the *vulnera Crucifixi*.⁹³ The rubric *in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi* may indicate that this action involves impersonation; but the

⁸⁸ Oxford, University College MS 169, Ordinarium Berkingense saec. xv in., p. 108. The *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from this manuscript have all been published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 926-931.

⁸⁹ University College MS 169, p. 108.

⁹⁰ has] hac (MS).

⁹¹ Followed immediately by this rubric: Hiis itaque gestis, redeat Conuentus in chorum et Sacerdos in uestiarium.

⁹² See above, p. 26.

⁹³ On the possible meanings of the word *Ymago* see above, p. 81. The washing of the *vulnera Crucifixi* has a parallel in the use of Rouen. See above, p. 75.

indication is not decisive. The text mentions the *Ymago* alone as the object placed in the sepulchrum; but from the *Elevatio* we infer that the burial included also the Host.

We may now consider the *Elevatio*, for which we have the following *ordo*:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁸⁴

Nota quod secundum antiquam consuetudinem ecclesiasticam RESUR<R>EXIO DOMINICA CELEBRATA FUIT ANTE MATUTINAS, et ANTE ALIQUAM CAMPANE PULSACIONEM IN DIE PASCHE. Et quoniam populorum concursus temporibus illis videbatur deuotione frigessere, et torpor humanus maxime accrescens, venerabilis Domina Katerina de Suttone, tunc pastoralis cure gerens vicem, desiderans dictum torporem penitus extirpare et fidelium deuotionem ad tam celeb<R>em celebrationem magis excitare, unanimi consensorum consensu instituit ut statim post III. responsorium MATUTINARUM DIE PASCHE FIERET Dominice RESUR<R>EXIONIS CELEBRATIO, et hoc modo statuatur processio.

IN PRIMIS EAT Domina ABBATISSA cum toto conuentu et quibusdam Sacerdotibus et clericis capis indutis, quolibet Sacerdote et Clerico palmam et candelam extinctam manu deferente⁸⁵ intrent capellam Sancte Marie Magdalene, figurantes animas sanctorum patrum ante<P. 120> aduentum Xpisti ad inferos descendentes, et claudant sibi ostium dicte capelle. Deinde superveniens Sacerdos ebdomadarius ad dictam capellam approprians alba indutus et capa cum duobus diaconis, uno crucem deferente cum vexillo dominico desuper pendente, altero cum turribulo manu sua baiulante, et aliis Sacerdotibus et clericis cum duobus pueris cereos deferentibus ad ostium dicte capelle incipiens ter hanc antiphonam:

Tollite portas.

QUI QUIDEM Sacerdos representabit personam Xpisti ad inferos descensuram et portas inferni dirupturam, et predicta antiphona unaquaque vice in altiori uoce incipiat, quam Clerici tociens eandem repetant, et ad quamquam inceptionem pulset cum cruce ad predictum ostium, figurans diruptionem portarum inferni; et tertia pulsacione ostium aperiat. Deinde ingreditur ille cum ministris suis. Interim incipiat quidam Sacerdos in capella existente antiphonam:

A porta inferi,

quam subinferat CANTRIX cum toto conventu:

Erue, Domine, et cetera.

DEINDE EXTRAHET Sacerdos Ebdomadarius omnes essentes in capella predicta, et interim incipiat Sacerdos antiphonam:

Domine abstraxisti,

et CANTRIX subsequatur:

Ab inferis.

⁸⁴ University College MS 169, pp. 119-121.

⁸⁵ deferente] deferentem (MS).

Tunc omnes exeant de capella, id est, de limbo patrum, et cantent Sacerdotes et Clerici *Antiphonam*:

Cum rex glorie,

PROCESSIONALITER per medium chori ad Sepulcrum portantes singuli palmam et candelam, designantes uictoriam de hoste recuperatam, subsequentibus Domina Abbatisa, Priorissa, et toto conuentu sicut sunt priores.

Et cum ad Sepulcrum peruenerint, Sacerdos <P. 121> Ebdomadarius Sepulcrum thurificet et intret Sepulcrum incipiendo *versum*:

Consurgit.

Deinde subsequatur Cantrix:

Xpistuc tumulo.⁹⁶

Versus:

Omnis auctor.

Versus:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

Et interim asportabit corpus Dominicum de Sepulcro incipiendo *Antiphonam*:

Xpistus resurgens,

coram altari, verso uultu ad populum, tenendo corpus Dominicum in manibus suis inclusum cristallo. Deinde subiungat Cantrix:

Ex mortuis.

Et cum dicta *Antiphona* faciant processionem ad altare Sancte Trinitatis cum solenni apparatu, uidelicet cum turribulis et cereis. Conuentus sequatur cantando *predictam Antiphonam cum versu*:

Dicant nunc,

et *versiculo*.⁹⁷

Dicite in nationibus.

Oratio:

Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum.

E hec processio figuratur per hoc quo Xpistuc procedit post resur<R>xiionem in Galileam, sequentibus discipulis.⁹⁸

From the generous rubrics in this text it appears that the present form of this office is due to the reform of Katherine of Sutton, Abbess of Barking from 1363 to 1376.⁹⁹ Although she recognizes the tradition of the *Elevatio* before Easter Matins, she undertakes to establish a special form of this office for observance at the close of Matins, directly before the usual *Visitatio*.

⁹⁶ tumulo] timulo (MS).

⁹⁷ uersiculo] uersiculus (MS).

⁹⁸ Immediately followed by a version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

⁹⁹ See W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 437.

The *Elevatio* divides itself naturally into two parts: a representation of the *Descensus*, and a raising of the Host from the *sepulchrum*. The representation of the *Descensus* occurs neither at the *sepulchrum* nor at the church doors, but, very appropriately, at the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen. Behind the closed doors of this chapel are imprisoned all the members of the *conventus*, representing the spirits in *limbo Patrum*. After a triple challenge, *Tollite portas*, from a priest without, the door of the chapel is opened and the imprisoned spirits are allowed to depart in procession toward the *sepulchrum*. The full rubrics explaining this representation leave little doubt that impersonation is deliberately intended.

The subsequent raising of the Host from the *sepulchrum* includes no novelties in the way of action. The central observance is the adoration of the Host at the main altar. The concluding procession from this altar to the altar of Holy Trinity is interpreted for us as representing the journey of Christ into Galilee. The absence from this office of all mention of the *Ymago Crucifixi*, used in the *Depositio*, is somewhat puzzling.

As we approach the end of the present section of this study, we have still to consider certain versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* which, by reason of one peculiarity or another, have thus far resisted classification, but which deserve at least brief notice. The following are fifteenth-century versions from Hungary:¹⁰⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰¹

INTERIM¹⁰² SUBCUSTOS EXPORTAT MONSTRANTIAM CUM SACRAMENTO PRO SEPULTURA AD ALTARE MAGNUM. HIS PERACTIS DESCENDAT CHORUS PROCESSIONALITER AD LOCUM UBI SEPULTURA ORDINATA¹⁰³ EST, EPISCOPO IPSOS CUM SACRAMENTO SEQUENTE, PRECEDENTIBUS QUATTUOR PRECEDENTIBUS SEU IUVENIBUS CUM BACULIS AURATIS CUM CANDELIS ACCENSIS. ET DOMINUS EPISCOPUS RECONDAT CRUCEM CUM SACRAMENTO REVERENTER THURIFICANDO

¹⁰⁰ Published by J. Dankó, *Vetus Hymnarium Ecclesiasticum Hungariae*, Budapest, 1893, pp. 535-538, from "Ordinarius Scepusiensis sive Strigoniensis saeculi decimi quinti e codice manuscripto Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Budapestinensis." With the *Depositio* should be compared the text from Gran printed above, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰¹ Dankó, pp. 535-536.

¹⁰² Immediately preceded by Vespers.

¹⁰³ sepultura ordinata] sepulturam ordinatam (Dankó).

ET ASPERGENDO AC SIGILLANDO SEPULCHRUM. INTERIM CHORUS CANTET *responsoria*:

Hierusalem luge.

Ecce vidimus.

Plange quasi virgo.

Recessit pastor bonus.

RECONDITO SACRAMENTO, CHORUS CANTET *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino.

ET POSTEA DOMINUS EPISCOPUS DICAT VERSUM ET ORATIONEM UT IN MISSALI. TANDEM FACTA REVERENTIA RECEDAT.¹⁰⁴

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰⁵

ITEM IN MATUTINO POST ULTIMAM OMELIAM, DUM CHORALES INCIPIUNT AD RESPONSORIUM: Dum transisset, DEBENT PROCEDERE USQUE AD SEPULCHRUM; ET IBIDEM CHORALES VERSICULUM CUM Gloria Patri SOLLEMNISABUNT. IBIQUE MINISTRI STANTES CANDELIS ACCENSIS, THURE ET THURIBULO IBI EXISTENTIBUS, ET INTERIM UNUS LEUABIT SEPULCHRUM ET HOSTIAM ET DOMINUS PONTIFEX SIUE PLEBANUS PRECEDENTES SOLLEMNITER THURIFICABIT. DEIN CORPUS CUM PARVA CRUCE EXCIPIET, QUOD IMPOSITUM FUIT FERIA SEXTA MAJORIS EBDOMADE. ET EXCIPIET CUM VERSICULO ISTO:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, alleluia, qui pro nobis.

ET INTEREA CIRCA ALTARE BEATE VIRGINIS CALICEM CUM CORPORALIBUS PREPARANT. TUNC DOMINUS PONTIFEX SEU PLEBANUS ACCEDENS CORPUS KRISTI SUPER PATENAM TENENS IN MANU HONORIFICE ET AD MAXIMAM REVERENCIAM VERTAT SE TRIBUS VICIBUS AD POPULUM CUM CORPORE KRISTI CANTANDO:

Pax vobis, CUM SUO Alleluia.

CHORUS RESPONDET:

Nolite timere, alleluia.

DEINDE PROCESSIO CANENDO REDIBIT AD CHORUM SOLEMNISANDO:

Te Deum.

The notable circumstance connected with these texts is the unusual liturgical position of the *Elevatio*: before the *Te Deum* at the end of Easter Matins. As we have already conjectured,¹⁰⁶ this may have been the original location of the *Elevatio*, and the transference of this office to the beginning of Matins may have been made in order to provide a place for the *Visitatio*.

¹⁰⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: In Completorio.

¹⁰⁵ Dankó, pp. 537-538.

¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 31, 95.

Special considerations of a different sort arise in connection with the following versions from Diessen:¹⁰⁷

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰⁸

HIS FINITIS DUO *Presbyteri* INDUTI ALBIS PORTENT YMAGINEM QUE SEPELIENDA EST, PRECEDENTE CONUENTU CUM ACCENSIS CANDELIS ET THURIBULO; FACIANT PROCESSIONEM PER ECCLESIAM CIRCUMEUNDO ET CANTANDO LUGUBRI VOCE RESPONSORIUM:

Ecce quomodo moritur. Versus: In pace factus.

POSTEA LOCENT YMAGINEM AD SEPULCHRUM CUM THURIFICATIONE ET ASPERSIONE. ET DICANT *Vesperas* IBIDEM PRIVATIM. Psalmus: Confitebor, cum VERSICULO. Sequitur Magnificat. Antiphona: Cum accepisset. Psalmus: Miserere mei, cum ORATIONE. <FOL. 20^r> Sequitur responsorium:

Sepulto Domino. Versus: Ne forte veniant.

ET SIC REDEANT IN CHORUM. Tunc compulsentur TABULE OMNES.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰⁹

IN SANCIA NOCTE ANTE HOROLOGIUM DECANUS CUM SENIORIBUS TOLLANT YMAGINEM SALUATORIS, REPORTATO PRIUS SACRAMENTO, DE SEPULCHRO CUM psalmo:

Domine, quid multiplicati.

ET CANTANT ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus.

CUM INCENSO ET ASPERSORIO PORTENT YMAGINEM SUPER SUMMUM ALTARE, ET OSCULENTUR EAM CUM GAUDIO ET DEUOCIONE. TUNC COMPULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA.

The specialty of the Diessen *Depositio* is its apparent assimilation of Vespers. After the Communion of the Mass, when the *Imago* has been placed in the *sepulchrum*, Vespers are immediately said in this place *privatim*. At the close of Vespers is sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. Since this responsory is commonly associated with the closing action of the *Depositio*, the present version of this office may be viewed as including Vespers within itself.

The *Elevatio* raises no particular question except through the obscurity surrounding the use of the Host. Although the

¹⁰⁷ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5545, Ordinarium Diessense saec. xv, fol. 19^v-20^v. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from this manuscript are now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* has been published by N. C. Brooks in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 305-306. It is possible that with these texts should be associated those cited above from Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5546. See above, p. 88, note 71.

¹⁰⁸ Munich, Cod. Lat. 5545, fol. 19^v-20^f.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*, fol. 20^v.

Depositio does not mention it, the *Elevatio* indicates that the Host must have been included in the burial, and that it was secretly removed from the *sepulchrum* before the time of the *Elevatio*, early Easter morning (*reportato prius Sacramento*).

The last texts that we need consider are the following from Regensburg:¹¹⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹¹¹

EXPLETA AUTEM COMMUNIONE FIDELIUM, PARTICULAE CORPORIS CHRISTI, SI QUAE SUPERFUERINT, SERVENTUR ET PORTENTUR IN LOCUM HONESTUM.¹¹² QUIBUS OMNIBUS PERACTIS SACERDOS CUM MINISTRIS TOLLAT CRUCIFIXUM, QUOD REPRÆSENTATUM FUERAT, ET DEFERANT AD SEPULCHRUM CANTANTES

responsorium:

Recessit pastor noster, VEL
Ecce quomodo moritur.

TUNC LOCENT CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRUM, ET FLEXIS GENIBUS LEGANT VESPERAS SUBMISSA VOCE. POSTREMO CANTETUR LENTA VOCE CUM VERSU RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino.

TUNC SACERDOS DICAT *versum*:

In pace factus est,

ET ORATIONEM:

Respice.

ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹¹³

EPISCOPUS AUT PRAEPOSITUS AUT DECANUS SIVE SENIOR CANONICUS, INDUTUS STOLA, ANTE PULSUM MATUTINARUM, CONGREGATO CHORO, CUM PROCESSIONE ET DUOBUS LUMINIBUS, FORIS ECCLESIAE CLAUSIS, SECRETIUS TOLLAT SACRAMENTUM SEU CRUCIFIXUM; ET ANTEQUAM TOLLAT, DICANTUR PSALMI FLEXIS GENIBUS ET SINE Gloria Patri, videlicet:

Domine quid multiplicati sunt (Ps. 3),
Miserere mei Deus (Ps. 56),
Domine probasti me (Ps. 138).

SEQUITUR:

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.
Pater noster. *Versus*: Et ne nos.
Versus: Exsurge Domine, adiuva, etc.
Versus: Foderunt manus meas, etc.
Versus: Domine exaudi, etc.

¹¹⁰ In connection with these texts should be considered those from Munich Cod. Lat. 26947, printed above, pp. 88-89.

¹¹¹ *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 432, from *Obsequiale Ratisbonense*, 1491.

¹¹² The liturgiologist of the *Decreta Authentica* infers (p. 432) that the *locus honestus* is the *sepulchrum*.

¹¹³ *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 440, from *Obsequiale Ratisbonense*, 1491.

ORATIO:

Da nobis, Domine, auxilium de tribulatione, qui dedisti pro nobis pretium magnum, et quos mors Filii tui D. N. I. C. redemit, eorum vita te digne glorificet. Per eundem, etc.

FINITA COLLECTA ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR CRUX, ET PORTETUR AD LOCUM SUUM, CUM *responsorium*:

Cum transisset Sabbatum, etc.,

MEDIA VOCE CANTATUR. ET ANTEQUAM CRUX IN SUUM LOCUM REPONATUR, TANGATUR PORTA ECCLESIAE CUM CRUCE ET DICATUR *versus*:

Quis est iste Rex gloriae?

Responsum:

Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

FINITO RESPONSORIO EPISCOPUS VEL SACERDOS DICAT SUBMISSA VOCE *versus*:
In resurrectione tua, Christe, allel.

Responsum:

Coelum et terra laentur, allel.

ORATIO:

Deus, qui hodierna die etc. (ex Offic. Dom. Resurr.)

SEQUITUR:

Versus: Surrexit Dominus vere, allel.

Responsum: Gaudeamus omnes, allel.

FINITIS HIS INCIPIATUR PULSUS MATUTINARUM, ET FINITO TERTIO RESPONSORIO REINCIPIATUR IDEM RESPONSORIUM:

Cum transisset, etc.

ET FIET PROCESSIO CUM TOTO CHORO AD SEPULCHRUM, IBIQUE PERFICIETUR RESPONSORIUM. QUO FINITO DUO PRESBYTERI STANTES ANTE SEPULCHRUM, ACCEPTIS (SIC!) OBUMBRALI LOCO SUDARII EXTENDENTESQUE ILLUD CANTENT ALTA VOCE TOTAM ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro, qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluia.

ET CANTATA ANTIPHONA, EPISCOPUS, PRAEPOSITUS, VEL DECANUS AUT SENIOR CANONICUS INCIPIAT CANTICUM LAETITIAE:

Te Deum.

CUM QUO REDITUR AD CHORUM ET COMPLETUR MATUTINUM IBIDEM.

In its organic relation to Vespers, the *Depositio* of Regensburg resembles that of Diessen.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the *Elevatio* is the use of an abbreviated form of the *Descensus* dialogue *Quis est iste Rex gloriae*? This brief dialogue is introduced after the taking up of the Cross, and the familiar command *Tollite portas* is omitted.

Brief mention should be made, finally, of the embryonic version of the *Visitatio*, at the close of Matins. Between the last responsory and the *Te Deum*, a procession visits the empty *sepulchrum*, where at the displaying of a veil representing the *sudarium*, is sung the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*.

By way of summarizing this division of the subject one need only call attention to the considerable number of versions of the *Elevatio* in connection with which is developed the theme of the *Descensus*. This development involves not only a highly dramatic dialogue, but also, probably, a considerable measure of mimetic action. The *Elevatio* from Barking may intend something deliberate in the way of impersonation.

VI

The facts now at hand concerning the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, along with our previous knowledge of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, should enable us to draw certain final conclusions as to the probable inter-relations of these dramatic offices in the historical development. For a precise demonstration the data are, I think, insufficient; but for a statement of probabilities the facts now available are ample.

In view of the data surveyed in this study, the extra-liturgical *sepulchrum* can scarcely be regarded as an independent device invented exclusively for the purposes of the dramatic offices under consideration. From the earliest period of formal Christian worship the idea of burial seems to have attached itself to certain objects used in the authorized liturgy itself: especially the altar, the tabernacle, and the chalice. At one time or another during the early middle ages these objects were either associated with the grave through physical contact,—as in the case of the altar,¹—or were interpreted as *sepulchra* through symbolism. When a dramatic impulse arose requiring a *mise en scène* for commemorations of the Burial and Resurrection,—apparently in the course of the tenth century,—the *sepulchrum* was already at hand for adoption. The dramatic offices, to be sure, gave added currency to the name “sepulchrum,” and they eventually elaborated structures of their own; but they cannot be credited with the invention of the thing itself.

Concerning the general sequence of the dramatic developments at this *sepulchrum* we can, I think, be reasonably certain.

¹ See especially Hirn, pp. 19–30.

I infer that the *Depositio*, along with the complementary *Elevatio*, was the original development, and that the *Visitatio* attached itself to the *sepulchrum* later, as a sequel. In support of this inference I would cite first the difference between the *Depositio-Elevatio* and the *Visitatio* in liturgical content and tone. The former dramatic sequence is completely liturgical in content, devoid of original composition and of dialogue. The *Visitatio*, on the other hand, is essentially a free composition. Although the developed versions of it contain numerous liturgical pieces,² the invariable central element of the *Visitatio* is an independent literary production: the dialogued trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro*.³ I infer that if the *Visitatio* had preceded the *Depositio-Elevatio*, the later offices would, through natural imitation, have reflected something of the dialogue and freer composition of the *Visitatio*. That the *Visitatio* should not have conformed to the liturgical rigor of the *Depositio-Elevatio* is due, apparently, to the fact that the *Visitatio* brought to the *sepulchrum* an independent literary dialogue ready for dramatic use.

Another consideration leads me to the same general conclusion as to the priority of the *Depositio-Elevatio*. From the present study nothing is more apparent than that these offices, however *dramatic* their ceremonials, never in themselves developed true drama. That is to say, the performers never impersonated the characters concerned. However imitative or commemorative the acts may have been, the agents in the action never specifically assumed the personalities involved in the story inspiring the action.⁴ In the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, on the other hand, impersonation is frequent. Of this fact one of the earliest extant versions of the *Visitatio*,—from St. Athel-

² See Lange, pp. 167-170, *et pass.*

³ See, for example, *id.*, pp. 131-132; Chambers, II, 28; and above, p. 7.

⁴ In making this statement I have in mind what we may call the normal forms of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, which are concerned with the laying down (or "burial") and the raising (or "resurrection") of the Cross or Host, or of both. The dramatic treatment of the Harrowing of Hell, added to certain versions of the *Elevatio*, does sometimes develop impersonation (See above, pp. 117-122); but the *Descensus* is not the central theme of either the *Depositio* or the *Elevatio*. In their central action, the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* do not develop impersonation.

wold's *Concordia Regularis*,—may serve as an illustration. Whereas in the pages above⁵ we have found that the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from this document involve no impersonation at all, the *Visitatio* prescribes it with insistent explicitness in such rubrics as the following:

Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes, ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid ueniant ante locum Sepulchri. Aguntur enim hec ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Jhesu.⁶

Now I assume that if the *Visitatio*, with impersonation of this sort, had preceded the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, these latter offices would, in some measure, have imitated the *Visitatio* in this important aspect. The consistent absence of impersonation from the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* seems to me to indicate that they had attained their rigid liturgical character before the advent of the *Visitatio*.

I may, then, summarize my conception of the development as follows:

1) The authorized liturgy itself early developed the idea of *sepulchrum* in connection with such ritualistic objects as the altar, the tabernacle, and the chalice.

2) Availing themselves of this idea of burial, the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* arose, in the course of the tenth century, under the influence especially of the reservation on Holy Thursday and of the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday.⁷ In many cases the *Depositio* allies itself to the authorized liturgy with especial intimacy.⁸ I infer that the *Depositio* was invented first, and that the *Elevatio* arose as a necessary complement. The two offices are mutually complete,⁹ and both are essentially liturgical in spirit and content.

3) During the early years of the tenth century was produced the trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* as an independent

⁵ See pp. 73-74.

⁶ Logemann, in *Anglia*, XIII, 427.

⁷ See above, pp. 9-29.

⁸ See above, for example, pp. 73, 76.

⁹ "The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* mutually presuppose each other and, together, are complete" (Chambers, II, 25).

literary composition in the form of dialogue.¹⁰ During the course of the tenth century this trope was very appropriately brought into association with the *sepulchrum*, and its dialogue became the basis of the dramatic *Visitatio Sepulchri*.¹¹ This office formed a fitting, but not an inevitable, sequel for the *Depositio-Elevatio*.

Many churches observed both the *Depositio-Elevatio* and the *Visitatio*; but since the former sequence is complete in itself, and since the *Visitatio* is quite capable of independent performance, a church could freely omit either the one or the other.¹²

¹⁰ See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, 5-13. See above, p. 7.

¹¹ Some may wish to argue that *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* attached themselves to the *sepulchrum* simultaneously. As I have suggested above, these persons will have to account for the fact that even at an early period (represented by the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold) the *Visitatio* became true drama, whereas the *Depositio-Elevatio* never attained this development.

¹² Disregard of this simple fact sometimes leads to the investigator's confusion. The rarity of the *Visitatio* in England, for example, might seem puzzling in view of the large number of "Easter sepulchres" still to be seen throughout the country. These sepulchres, in general, were evidently designed not for the *Visitatio*, but for versions of the *Depositio-Elevatio*, such as those from Sarum, York, and Exeter. See above, for example, pp. 97-100.

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